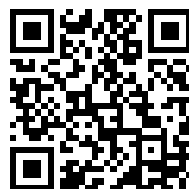
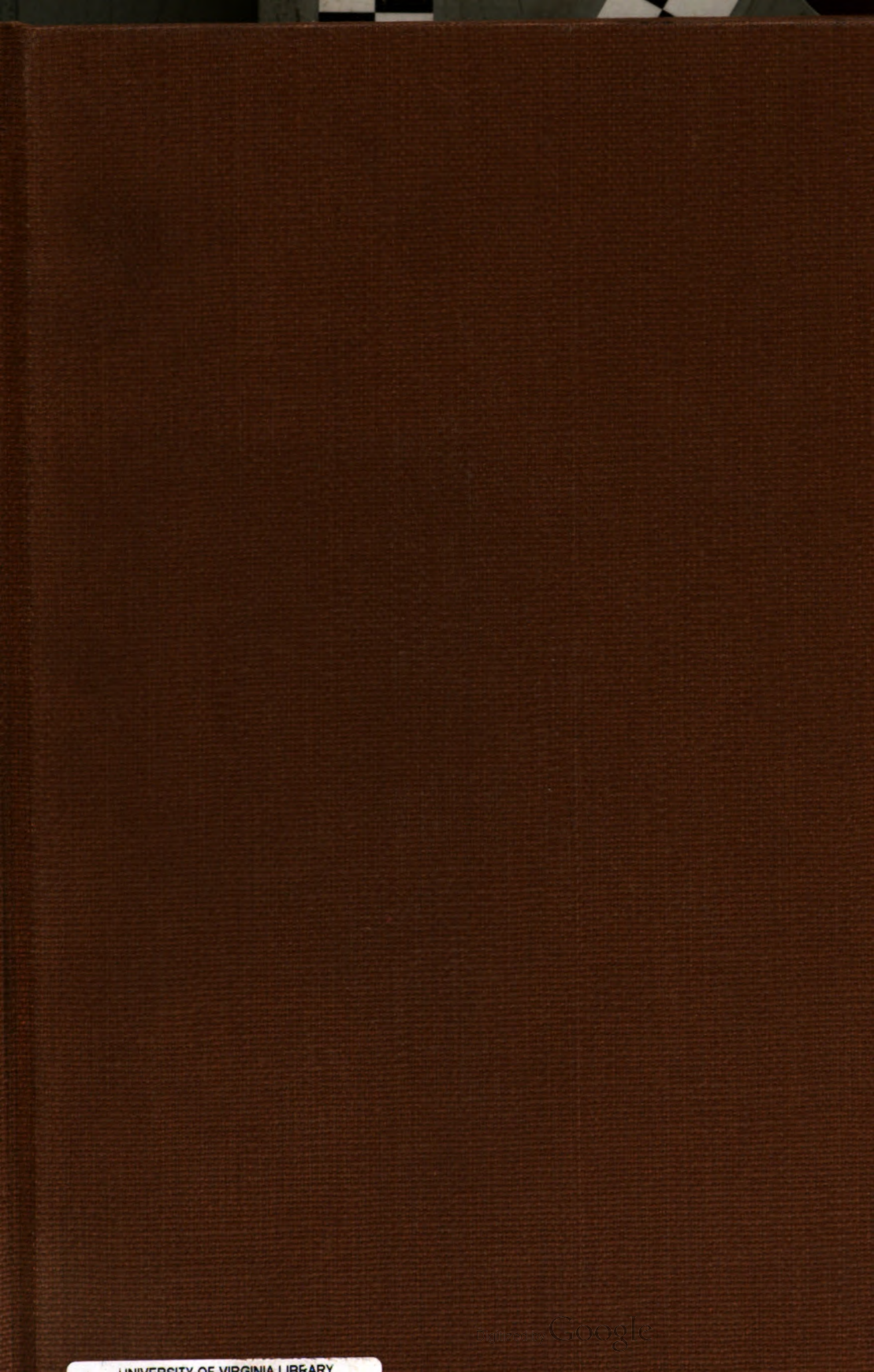
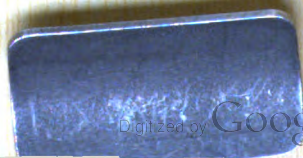

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THE PHONOLOGY
OF THE
SPANISH DIALECT OF MEXICO CITY

**DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNI-
VERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS
UNIVERSITY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

BY
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TO
MY FATHER
THIS TREATISE IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

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THE PHONOLOGY OF THE SPANISH DIALECT OF MEXICO CITY.

INTRODUCTION.

The material for the present study was collected during a residence of several months in Mexico City, and the facts stated are the result of personal observation of the idiom spoken by the lower classes. In some cases use is made of words and expressions found in printed material, but all such forms have been subjected to a careful comparison with the spoken language, before being accepted as trustworthy.

The language under consideration affords an interesting example of speech-mixture: we have in it a combination of the various dialects of Spain, each of which has undergone a still further development since its separation from the mother province. Furthermore, there is a marked French and English influence, especially in regard to the vocabulary. In addition to the elements mentioned, there is the original language of Mexico, which has given (and still continues to give) a strong coloring to the Spanish of the Republic.

In the present study an attempt has been made to show from what individual countries and provinces the Mexican Spanish dialect has drawn its material, and to what extent this material has been modified since its introduction into the language. In an historical study of the dialects of France, Italy or Spain, we naturally turn to Latin as a starting point; Mexican Spanish, on the other hand, has a beginning only at the time of the Spanish Conquest. The language of Spain in the early part of the sixteenth century will therefore be taken as a starting point, rather than the Latin.

The amount of dialect literature in Mexico is small. A few poets have made use of the popular speech, and the work of this class which has attained the greatest prominence is *La Musa Callejera*, by Guillermo Prieto. There are, however, quite a number of novels descriptive of life among the lower classes, and consequently containing many words and expressions valuable for a study of the dialect. Two of these novels call for special mention: *Los Bandidos del Rio Frio* and *Periquillo Sarniento*. The latter is one of the best known books in Mexico, and is often referred to as 'the Mexican Don Quixote.' These works contain vocabularies of words not found in the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy.

In addition to poetry and novels, there are several weekly newspapers written in the language of the people and published in Mexico City.¹ These periodicals circulate exclusively among the people whose language they profess to represent, though in reality the peculiarities of the actual speech are far from being faithfully represented in the printed pages. Another fact which lessens their value for dialect work is that they all have a very short lease of life, and the editor of each new attempt naturally repeats the mistakes of transcription committed by his predecessor.

To the sources of dialect material, enumerated above, must be added a short article by F. Semeleder on "Das Spanische der Mexicaner."² The author confines his remarks to the 'consonants,' and the value of his observations is greatly lessened by the fact that the study is not limited to some more definite territory, for in various parts of the Republic we find local peculiarities which are by no means 'mexicanisch.'

In regard to the Indian or Nahuatl element in Spanish, two works are of special importance. The first in point of date is by Eufemio Mendoza, entitled, *Apuntes para un Catálogo razonado de las Palabras Mexicanas introducidas al Castellano*.³ This, as the title implies, is a collection of Indian

¹ Bibliog., No. 95.

² Bibliog., No. 88.

³ Bibliog., No. 77.

words "usadas en el Castellano tal como se habla en Mexico," and includes a large number of geographical names which owe their origin to the Nahuatl. The second treatise referred to above, is the *Glosario de Voces Castellanas derivadas del Idioma Nahuatl*,¹ by Jesus Sanchez. Though not so extensive as the former treatise, this is much more valuable for our present study, since Dr. Sanchez, at the request of the writer, has kindly examined his *Glosario* for the purpose of determining whether all the words are in actual use in Mexico City; the result of his investigation is affirmative, "sin exceptuar una sola."

Up to the present time no attempt has been made to establish the laws which govern the phonetic changes in words of Indian origin on their passage into Spanish. In the present study the subject is treated as a separate chapter, since many of the laws governing the introduction of these elements are distinct from those which obtain for words of Romance origin.

The following facts concerning the colonization of Mexico are important. The period of Spanish influence commenced with the landing of Cortés in 1519, and the City of Mexico was captured two years later. From this time until 1821 the country was a province of Spain; from 1821 to the present day Mexico has been an independent Republic, if we except the period from 1864 to 1867, during which Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, ruled as Emperor, having been placed upon the throne by the influence of the French.

In the early days the officials in Spain kept a careful record of all persons who were permitted to emigrate to Mexico; at one time the would-be colonist was required to have a special permit from the King; later, he had to bring certificates from his native district. It is to be regretted that these records have not yet been brought together in accessible form. Hubert

¹ Bibliog., No. 86.

Howe Bancroft, in speaking of the period of colonization, remarks: "Those who in the early days under Cortés and subsequent leaders assisted in subduing the country, and thereby retired to enjoy the reward of their toil on some encomienda, may be regarded as the founders of the leading creole aristocracy—military adventurers though they were—and that of all grades, from hidalgo to artisan, sailor and even criminal, and drawn chiefly from Castile, Estremadura, and Andalusia. In later days the in-wanderers came principally from Vizcaya, Catalonia, Galicia, and the Santander mountains."¹

The laws against foreigners were severe, so that only a few succeeded in gaining admission to the country. This fact is of importance in one respect; namely, when we find in Mexico a linguistic phenomenon that is common to both Portugal and Galicia, we can safely say that if it came into Mexico during the early stages of colonization, it is of Galician origin and did not come directly from Portugal. The necessity for this discrimination will be more apparent, if we bear in mind that the language of Galicia is, strictly speaking, a Portuguese dialect, though the province itself is a part of Spain. Since the occupation of Mexico by the French, the influx of foreigners has steadily increased, and to-day there is in the Republic a number of French, English, American and German citizens. These represent a respectable class who have engaged in commercial enterprises, and whose language has naturally introduced a number of new words into the dialect.

A word in conclusion in regard to the other Spanish American countries. Within the last two decades, much has been written on idiom of the various Spanish-speaking portions of our Continent, so that at the present day we know *something* about the language of a large majority of the American Republics. The works on this subject, which have been used in the preparation of this monograph, are grouped together in a separate bibliography. Two of these call for

¹*History of Mexico*, Vol. III, pp. 743-744.

special mention; namely, that of R. J. Cuervo on the popular speech of Bogotá, and that of Rudolf Lenz on the language of Chile. The two productions represent the high-water mark in the study of American Spanish.

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION.

ɛ	= e	in Castilian	preceptor.
ɛ	= e	" "	preceptor.
o	= o	" "	bolero.
o	= o	" "	orden.
b	= b	" "	haber.
ð	= d	" "	hablado.
h	= h	German	haben.
k	= c	Castilian	caro.
k'	=	palatalized k.	
λ	= gl	in Italian	gli.
ŋ	= ng	in German	finger.
r	=	voiceless r.	
s	= s	in French	maison.
ʃ	= ch	in "	changer.
p	= c	Castilian	hacer.
w	= w	English	was.
x	= j	Castilian	jovén.
y	= y	" "	ya.
z	= g	French	changer.

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CHAPTER I.

EXPANSION AND CONTRACTION OF WORDS.

§ 1. *Accent.*

As a general rule, the position of the tonic accent is the same in Mexican as in Castilian ; there are, however, a few special cases which call for comment.

In the first place, in regard to the diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, and *au*. The rule of accentuation in Popular Latin was, that of two contiguous vowels, the more sonorous receives the accent.¹ In the dialects we find a re-working of this accent law in regard to vowels which were not contiguous in Latin, but have been brought together by the fall of an intermediate consonant. In Castilian, such words have retained the accent on the vowel which was tonic in Latin, and consequently we have a falling diphthong only when the first vowel of the group corresponds to the Latin tonic vowel. For example DONÁRIUM > *donáire*, PROBÁTIS > *probáis*. On the other hand PAGÉNSEM > *páis*, AUDÍTUM > *óido*.

In Mexico we find a re-working of the old accent-law in the class of Castilian words last mentioned, and the stress is moved back to the preceding vowel which is the more sonorous. Hence, we have such words as *óido* (Cast. *óido*), *páis* (Cast. *país*), *bául* (Cast. *baúl*) ; also *por ái* for POR AHI, *dí ái* for DE AHI. In Spanish America this law has been established for Bogotá² and Chile,³ and Lenz remarks in regard to the phenomenon : "Aus allen spanischen ländern Südamerikas liegen mir bewiese vor, dass aussprachen wie *páis*, *léido*, *bául*, *óido*, nicht nur im niederen volke, sondern auch unter den gebildeten gebräuchlich sind."⁴ In Mexico, however, this change of accent has not taken place in the speech of the educated classes.

¹ *Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, p. 526 ; *Grundriss*, p. 360, § 11.

² *Leng. Bogot.*, § 92 et seq.

³ *Phon. Stud.*, VI, p. 287.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

In *dáka* < DA ACÁ, we have a case of mistaken etymology where the change of accent is due to a supposed infinitive *dacar* which would regularly form an imperative *dáca*. This imperative form is of frequent use in Spain, and Mugica mentions it particularly in connection with the dialect of Santander.¹ There can be no doubt that the change is due to a supposed infinitive *dacar*, since *deque* as an imperative is used by Lope de Vega :

" Deque presto, ó mataréla."

(*Los locos de Valencia*, acto I, esc. III.)²

Furthermore, in Quito we find a redundant form *dáca acá*.³

§ 2. Dissimilation.

When of two consecutive syllables of a word both contain the vowel *i*, the vowel of the first syllable (if atonic) is changed to *e* by dissimilation : VISITAR > *besitar*, PRINCIPAL > *preñsi-pal*, TRINIDAD > *Trenidá*, INVITO > *enbító*, ESCRIBIR > *escrebir*, MEDICINA > *meðesina*.

Dissimilation of *e-e* to *e-i* occurs in Old Spanish,⁴ and the law is particularly striking in the North Spanish provinces of Vizcaya⁵ and Aragon.⁶

§ 3. Metathesis.

Metathesis does not appear to be so frequent in Mexican as it is in the other dialects of Spain and America. The cases noted are POBRE > *proβe*, PERMISO > *premisio*, GABRIEL > *Grabiēl*, NADIE > *náiðen*, CIUDAD > *suiðá*.

Of the above forms *probe* occurs in Santander, Vizcaya and Aragon ;⁷ *premisio* and *Graviel* in Vizcaya.⁸ Hence, owing to

¹*Dial. Cast.*, p. 1.

²*Leng. Bogot.*, p. 131.

³*Wien. Akad.*, Vol. CV, p. 145.

⁴*Grundriss*, I, p. 700, § 33.

⁵*Dial. Cast.*, p. 2.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 5, 43 and 76.

⁸*Dial. Cast.*, p. 43. Schuchardt mentions the form *Grabiēl* as current in Popular Latin : *Volkaliemus*, III, 5 ; cf. *Leng. Bogot.*, p. 449.

the rare occurrence of Metathesis in Mexico, we may suppose these words to have been introduced from North Spain.

The form *suidá* is used even by the educated classes of Mexico, and is also occasionally heard in Chile and Peru.¹

Naide is the popular Spanish form, and Cuervo states that it is found in the writings of Santa Teresa, who died in 1582.² The word occurs, however, as early as 1514 in the writings of Lucas Fernandez.³

§ 4. *Prosthesis.*

Only a few cases of prosthesis occur: FIGURARSE > *afigurarse*, FUSILAR > *afusilar*,⁴ SEGUN > *asigun*.

In Mexico we see preserved the intensive prefix *re-* which may be further strengthened to *re-te-*: *reyeno* (REILLEN), *regordo*, *reteyeno*, *retegordo*. The prefix *rete-* occurs also in Bogotá.⁵

§ 5. *Epenthesis.*

In addition to the particle *-te* of *rete*, mentioned above, the following cases of epenthesis occur: *áigre*⁶ (AIRE), *áiga* (HAYA), *munchó*⁷ (MUCHO), *ansina* (ASI), *lamber*⁸ (LAMER).

For explanation of the *g* in *áigre*, cf. remarks on palatals, § 52; *áiga* is by analogy to forms like *traiga*, *caiga*, etc.; the *g* occurs in all forms of the Present Subjunctive of *haber*; *munchó* and *ansina*⁹ represent the preservation of Old Spanish and popular forms of general occurrence in Spain; ¹⁰ *lamber* represents the regular Galician form which has preserved the original Latin *b*.¹¹

¹Phon. Stud., VI, p. 293.

²Leng. Bogot., p. 449, note 3. For the final *n* in the Mexican form, cf. § 68.

³Cf. Edición of Span. Acad., p. 141.

⁴Gagini states that this word is in use in Costa Rica, and "es corriente entre el vulgo de España y de América." Prov. de C. R., p. 23.

⁵Leng. Bogot., p. 108.

⁶Also in Costa Rica, cf. Prov. de C. R., p. 30.

⁷Ibid., p. 452.

⁸Ibid., p. 409.

⁹See § 67.

¹⁰Gagini mentions *ansina* as occurring in Asturias, and *asina* in Galicia. Prov. de C. R., p. 68.

¹¹Gram. Gal., pp. 34, 48 and 118, and Diccionario Gallego, p. 177.

§ 6. *Epithesis.*

An *s* is added to the second person singular of all preterit forms: 'huites (FUISTE), mandates (MANDASTE), etc. Cafés (plural of *café*) forms a double plural *kafeses*. Other cases of Epithesis are NADIE > *naiðen*, ASI > *ansina*, RED > *reðe*.

§ 7. *Apheresis.*

The most common case of apheresis is the dropping of initial atonic *a* in verbs of more than two syllables: ATRASADO > *trasáu*, APETECER > *peteser*, ARRASTRAR > *rastrar*, ARRANCAR > *rançar*, AHOGAR > *ogar*, also AHORA > *ora*, HAMACA > *maka*.

Initial atonic *u* of *Usted* (USTED) always falls when preceded by a word ending in *a*: A USTED > *asté*, MANDA USTED? > *mandasté?*

Other cases of the fall of initial vowels are HELADOS > *laps*, ILUSTRE > *lustre*, OCOTE > *koçe*.

Initial *d* does not occur in *¿ndé* (DONDE) and *espasio* (ESPACIO).

Initial syllable falls in HERMANO > *mano*,¹ CONVERSAR > *bersar*, CONVERSACION > *bersasion*, BALASTRE > *lastre*, ESTÁ > *tá*,² ESTÁN > *tan*, etc., ESTANQUE > *tanke*.

The forms *ta* (ESTÁ), *tan* (ESTAN), etc., are used only when the verb is followed by a predicate; for example, *ta weno* (ESTÁ BUENO), but *ái (e)stá* (AHÍ ESTÁ). The reason for this is that when a predicate follows, the verb is in an unaccented position in the stress group, and consequently, the unaccented initial syllable falls more readily; compare in French, Lat. ELLAS > tonic *elles*, atonic *les*. In Curaçoa, only the contracted forms *ta*, *tan*, etc., exist.³

¹ Cf. *Prov. de C. R.*, p. 431; *El Jibaro*, p. 160.

² Cf. *Dentals*, § 46.

³ *Amer. Phil. Ass.*, I, p. 156.

§ 8. *Syncope.*

The most common case of syncope is the fall of the *d* between *a-a* and *a-o*: CURADO > *kurao* > *kuráu*, PELADO > *pelao* > *peláu*,¹ NADA > *naa* > *na*. Medial *r* falls in PARA > *paa* > *pa*. Other examples of syncope are AUNQUE > *ankę*, ESTEARINA > *ęstęrina*.

§ 9. *Apocope.*

The two most important cases of apocope are the fall of the final *s* before a word beginning with *l*, *r* or a sibilant, and the universal fall of the final *d*: DOS REALES > *dę rialęs*, MAS RICO > *ma rikę*, MAS LARGO > *ma largę*, DOS CIENTOS > *dę sięntęs*, also BUENAS NOCHES > *węna nęchęs*; VERDAD > *bęrdá*, CIUDAD > *suiđá*, USTED > *ustę*.

In regard to the fall of a final vowel before a word beginning with a vowel, no fixed rule can be given, since custom varies with the individual, and the kinds of conversation engaged in. In rapid or excited discourse elision is naturally more frequent than in careful conversation.

Final *a* generally falls before initial *a* of a following word, and final *e* falls before initial *e* of following word: ESTA AMANTE > *ęstamantę*, ESTE ERA > *ęstęra*, etc.

CHAPTER II.

TONIC VOWELS.

§ 10. *Tonic a.*

Tonic *a*, free or checked, generally retains the Castilian pronunciation: *malę*, *palę*, *alto*, *año*, etc.

When tonic *a* is followed by the group of consonants *ct*, the *c* falls, leaving behind an epenthetic *i* which forms a falling

¹Term applied to the lowest class of citizens.

diphthong with *a*; for example, ACTO > *aito*, CARÁCTER > *karáiter*, EXACTO > *esáito*, etc. The development is the same as that which takes place in Lat. *factum* > Fr. *fait*. A more detailed discussion of this change and the extent of its occurrence in the Spanish dialects, will be found under Palatals.

In *truɣe* for Cast. *traje*, we have a preservation of the Old Span. and popular form. The perfect *truɣe* probably goes back to an analogous *ui*-perfect in Latin, that is, *traxui* instead of *traxi*; hence, we have the same stages of development as in *habui* > *harubi* > *hobe* > *hube*. Indeed, the intermediate stage *troje* is found in Old Span.¹

Quasi (*oasi*), though seldom used, is nevertheless a good classic Spanish form.

§ 11. Tonic *e*.

Tonic *e* has retained the Castilian pronunciation; for example, *pelo*, *sé*, *mesa*, *aparece* (APARECE), etc.

§ 12. Tonic *e*.

Tonic *e* has generally retained the Castilian pronunciation; for example, *kuenta*, *el*, *komeɣ*.

In words of Indian origin, where tonic *e* has become final through the fall of a following consonant, the *e* has retained its open sound; for example, *Popocatapetl* > *Popocatapé*. The same is true of English *beefsteak*, which, passing through a stage *bistek*, becomes *bisté*.

Lenz states that it is a general rule in Chile to pronounce close *e* (ɛ) after palatals; for example: *muɣer*, *ɣente*.² This is not the case in Mexico.

When tonic *e* is followed by the group of consonants *ct*, the *c* falls, leaving behind an epenthetic *i*; the *e* becomes *ɛ* and forms a falling diphthong with the following *i*: DEFECTO >

¹ Foerster, *Span. Sprachlehre*, p. 344; *Zts.*, ix, p. 259.

² *Phon. Stud.*, iv, p. 276.

deféito, RESPECTO > *reſpéito*, RECTO > *réito*, etc. The epenthetic *i* has the same explanation as that developed after *a* in the same position.

ε > *i* in *tráir*, *káir* which correspond to Castilian TRAER, CAER. Here we have in the first place a change of accent to the more sonorous vowel,¹ followed by a wearing away of the posttonic *ε* to *i* in the falling diphthong; thus, *traεr* > *tráεr* > *tráir*, *caεr* > *káεr* > *káir*. A peculiarity of Chile is that while atonic *ae* > *ai*, tonic *ae* (i. e. *áe*) remains unchanged; hence we find *trairé*, *trairá*, but *tráe*, *tráen*.²

§ 13. Tonic *i*.

Tonic *i* retains the Castilian pronunciation of close *i*: *primo*, *grito*, *mil*, etc.

Meſmo for Castilian MISMO shows a regularly developed *e*, which is retained in the Old Span. *mesmo*.³ In Spain this form has been noted for Andalucia and Asturia,⁴ and in America it is found in Guatemala⁵ and the Argentine Republic.⁶

§ 14. Tonic *o*.

Tonic *o* retains the Castilian pronunciation: *ſola*, *matri-moño* (MATRIMONIO), *toño*, etc.

§ 15. Tonic *o*.

Tonic *o* retains the Castilian pronunciation: *orōen*, *oi* (HOY), etc.

In *pōs* (Cast. PUES) we have a preservation of the Old Span. form which shows development in atonic position in the stress-group. Compare the Old French doublets *oar* and *quer*. The form *pos* occurs in Andalucia, Asturia⁷ and San-

¹ For change of accent, cf. § 1.

² *Phon. Stud.*, VI, p. 286.

³ *Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, I, p. 125.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁵ *Mod. Lang. Notes*, VIII, p. 84.

⁶ *Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 56.

⁷ *Zts.*, v, p. 304.

tander. *Pus*, which is found in Bogotá and occasionally in Andalucía and Santander,¹ is explained by Schuchardt as a further development of *pues*.²

§ 16. Tonic *u*.

Tonic *u* retains the Castilian pronunciation: *puro*, *ḡetuḡo*, *chulo*, etc.

§ 17. Tonic *ie*.

In the stem-accented forms of *querer* there is non-diphthongization of Latin *ē*, hence we have such forms as *kēḡo*, *kēḡes*, *kēḡe*, *kēra*, etc. The same development of *querer* is characteristic of Galicia,³ which fact may lead us to suppose that the Mexican forms are of Galician origin.

When the diphthong *ie* is preceded by *n*, the *i* of the diphthong is absorbed by the nasal which in turn becomes *ḡ*; for example, NIEVE > *ḡēḡe*, NIETO > *ḡēḡo*, etc.

ie > *i* in DIEZ when used in combination with other numerals; for example, DIEZ Y OCHO > *disiḡcho*, DIEZ MIL PESOS > *disimil peḡos*. The same reduction of *ie* to *i* takes place in Chile, and here the phenomenon is not confined to *diez* used in combination with other words, nor even to *diez* used alone; other examples are MIEDO > *mio*, *quien* > *kin*. Lenz, in considering this change of *ie* to *i* in Chile, remarks: "Nicht selten tritt deutliche neigung hervor, bei *ié* den akzent zu verschieben, ohne dass es mir bisher gelungen wäre, bestimmte bedingungen dafür zu finden."⁴ We must necessarily suppose a change of accent from *ié* to *ie* before the reduction of the diphthong took place. In fact Lenz adds: "Während im algemeinen die betonung des span. *ié*, *ué* fest zu stehen scheint, erinnere ich mich, einen nordspanier, er war, glaube ich, aus Zaragoza, gehört zu haben, der immer *cúerpo*, *tiempo*, *siempre*, *tiene*, etc., betonte."⁵ It is interesting to note in connection with Lenz's

¹*Dial. Cast.*, p. 11.

²*Zts.*, v, p. 304.

³*Gram. Gal.*, p. 107.

⁴*Phon. Stud.*, vi, p. 292.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 293, note.

location of the phenomenon, that the reduction of *ie* to *i* and *ue* to *u* was of frequent occurrence in the Old Span. province of Leon.¹ In Buenos Ayres, we find an occasional reduction of *ue* to *u*, but no cases where *ie* becomes *i*.²

§ 18. Tonic *ue*.

Tonic *ue* > *e* in the stem-accented forms of the verb *probar*; for example, PRUEBO > *prẽbo*, PRUEBA > *prẽba*, PRUEBEN > *prẽben*, etc. The reduction in the stem-accented forms of this verb has been noted also for Asturia³ and Porto Rico.⁴

This change of *ue* to *e* is physiological. The *u* of the diphthong is semi-consonantal, and consequently has a more marked labial element than pure vocalic *u*; the preceding consonantal combination is labial (p) + dental (r), and as these two consonants must be pronounced with a single expiratory current, the tongue must necessarily anticipate the *r*-position while the lips are in the *p*-position; the *e* of the diphthong *ue* is much nearer the *r*-position than is the labial *u*, hence *u* falls and we have *prẽ* instead of *pruẽ*. In other words, by the law of least action, labial (p) + dental (r) + labial (u) + approximate dental position (e), is reduced to labial (p) + dental (r) + dental (e). Furthermore, in Mexico, analogy to the stem-accented forms has affected all other parts of the verb, hence we find *prẽbar*, *prẽbamos*, *prẽbau* (PREBADO), etc.

The change of *ue* to *e* is interesting in connection with Modern Spanish *frente* < Lat. *frōntem*. The Spanish form should be *fruenta* which actually exists in the older language. The change from *fruenta* to *frente* is due to the law which changes *prueba* to *prẽba* in Mexico. Compare in this connection the following remark of Meyer-Lübke's: "En Espagnol *ue* est réduit à *e*, sans que la loi de cette réduction ait encore pu être formulée."⁵

¹Gessner, *Das Leonische*, pp. 23, 24.

²*Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 55.

³Rato y Hevia, *Palab. y Frases Bables*, p. 101.

⁴*El Jibaro*, p. 91.

⁵*Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, I, p. 202.

CHAPTER III.

ATONIC VOWELS.

§ 19. *Atonic a.*

Pretonic *a* generally remains as in Castilian; for example, *amar*, *tirador*, *ensayo*, etc.

When pretonic *a* is followed by the palatal groups *et* or *eo*,¹ the *o* (= *k*) falls, leaving behind an epenthetic *i* which forms a falling diphthong with the *a*: FACTURA > *fâitúra*, ACTOR > *âitôr*, ACCION > *âisiôn*, etc. The development is the same as that of tonic *a* + *et*.

For the fall of initial pretonic *a* in *ogar*, *maka*, etc., cf. 'Apheresis,' § 7.

Posttonic *a* remains as in Castilian; for example, *mala*, *trata*, *sima*, etc. The only exception noted is *siñega* (< CIENAGA) and Gagini states: "Pronúnciase así en casi toda la América Española la palabra castellana *ciénaga*, corrompida por influencia de la *e* accentuada sobre la sílaba siguiente."²

§ 20. *Atonic e.*

Pretonic *e* generally remains as in Castilian; for example, *mesonero*, *pelaus* (PELADOS), *felisitar*, etc.

Pretonic *e*, followed by *a*, *o* or *u*, regularly becomes *i*. This change takes place whether the following vowel is tonic or atonic; also when *e* is final before a word beginning with *a*, *o* or *u*: REAL > *rial*, MEAR > *miar*; PEON > *pion*, LEONORA > *Liônora*; DEUDA > *ðiũa*; also DE AQUEL > *ðiakêl*, DE OTRO > *diôtro*, DE HULE > *ðiulê*. The change of *e* to *i* before *a*, *o* is of general occurrence in Spain and America; the raising of *e* to *i* before *u* is apparently characteristic of Mexico,

¹*ee* occurs only before *e* or *i*, and among the educated classes of Mexico is pronounced *ke*.

²*Prov. de C. R.*, p. 133.

though a more careful study of the dialects will doubtless reveal its occurrence elsewhere, both in Spain and America. At all events the change of *e* to *i* is a natural one. The *e* before *a*, *o*, *u* is in hiatus, and the development into *i* was common in Old French and in certain pure Castilian words of "mi-savant" origin, as *criar* < *creare*.¹

Pretonic *e* > *i* in *siñor* (< SENOR). Schuchardt, in considering the occurrence in Andalucia of such forms as *ispertá*, *piscueso*, *asibuche*, etc., remarks: "Wie *i* für unbetontes *e* als Schwächung aufzufassen, weiss ich nicht."²

Meyer-Lübke mentions a similar inexplicable change of *e* to *i* in Asturia, Bogotá and Buenos Ayres, and for Old Spanish he cites examples from the *Poema de Alexandro* and the *Fuero Juzgo*.³ The examples cited by Mugica for Santander admit of no classification, yet the author attributes them all to the influence of the Leon dialect.⁴ Thus it is evident that no satisfactory explanation can be offered until a more careful study has been made of the Spanish dialects.

§ 21. Atonic *ç*.

Pretonic *ç* generally retains the Castilian pronunciation ; for example, *ççposa*, *dçstino*, etc.

When pretonic *ç* is followed by the palatal groups *et* or *ce*, the *c* falls, leaving behind an epenthetic *i*. The *ç* at the same time becomes *e* and forms a falling diphthong with the *i*:⁵ REÇTITUD > *rèitilú*, REÇTOR > *rèitçr*, LEÇCION > *leisiçn*, etc.

Posttonic *ç* generally retains the Castilian pronunciation ; for example, *kçmen*, *Fçrnançes*, etc.

Verbs of the second conjugation, whose stem ends in *a*, regularly change the tonic accent to the stem vowel,⁶ and the infinitive ending from *er* to *ir*: CAER > *káir*, TRAER > *tráir*. The same change of *ç* to *i* takes place in all other forms of

¹Gram. des Lang. Rom., I, p. 321.

²Zts., v, p. 314.

³Gram. des Lang. Rom., I, pp. 297-8.

⁴Dial. Cast., p. 10.

⁵For territory covered by the phenomenon, cf. § 56.

⁶Cf. § 1.

these verbs where the *e* does not bear the tonic accent; for example, *CÁE* > *kái*, *TRÁEN* > *tráin*, *TRAERÁ* > *trairá*, etc. The development of *ɛ* to *i* in the infinitive occurs only in Mexico; the change of *ae* to *ái* in the stem-accented forms is found also in Asturia, Andalucia,¹ Galicia,² Vizcaya,³ Buenos Ayres⁴ and Chile.⁵ Thus it is evident that the phenomenon is not confined to any definite locality, either of Spain or America. The change of *ae* to *ái* represents a natural wearing-away of unaccented *e* in a falling diphthong, and is the same phenomenon that occurs in the second person plural of Castilian verbs of the first conjugation; for example, *amátis* > *amádes* > *amáes* > *amais*.

Final atonic *e* has the open sound: *grandɛ*, *ɛstɛ*, *ɛrrɛ*, etc. Araujo, in his study of Castilian pronunciation, transcribes it as close *ɛ*.

rɛɖɛ (Castilian RED) doubtless shows the preservation of a North Spanish form since the only provinces where *rede* seems to exist are Asturia⁶ and Galicia.⁷

§ 22. Atonic *i*.

Pretonic *i* preserves the Castilian pronunciation: *mirar* *tinaxa*, *kariðá*, etc.

Pretonic *i* > *e*, by dissimulation, in words which have *i* occurring in two immediately following syllables. The change takes place whether the second *i* is tonic or atonic: *DIVINO* > *ðɛβino*, *MEDICINA* > *mɛðɛsina*, *VISITAR* > *βɛsitar*, etc. Such a change took place in some cases in the Old Spanish period, for we find in the earliest monuments such forms as *devino*, *escrebir*, etc.

Posttonic *i* preserves the Castilian pronunciation: *fácil* (FACIL), *rápiðo*, etc.

¹Zis., v, 313.

²Gram. Gal., p. 247.

³Dial. Cast., p. 46.

⁴Soc. de Ling., II, p. 54.

⁵Phon. Stud., VI, p. 236.

⁶Palabras y Frases Bables, p. 105.

⁷Dioc. Gal., p. 268.

When *ia*, *io* are preceded by *n*, the *i* is absorbed by the *n*, which in turn becomes *ñ*: ANTONIA > *Antoña*, MATRIMONIO > *matrimoño*, etc.

náiðen (NADIE) shows attraction.

suiða (CIUDAD) shows metathesis. Schuchardt places a form *suida* as the basis of Andalusian *suidia*.

§ 23. Atonic *o*.

Pretonic *o* retains the Castilian pronunciation: *molina*, *poner*, *obispo*, etc.

In the words *poema* and *poeta* the pretonic *o* > *u*: *puema*, *pueta*. The *o* in these cases is in hiatus before tonic *e*, and is naturally raised from *o* to *u*. A similar change takes place in the Philippine Islands in *nuay* for Castilian NO HAY.¹

Posttonic *o* retains the Castilian pronunciation: *mucho*, *bonito*, *trabajo*, etc.

When posttonic *o* is contiguous to tonic *a* through fall of medial *d*, the resulting *áo* becomes *áu* by the natural wearing-away of *o* in a falling diphthong; for example, PELADO > *peláo* > *peláu*, CURADO > *kuráo* > *kuráu*, etc. The same phenomenon occurs in Chile.² An exception to this in Mexico is HELADOS > *laps*, a word used by the venders of 'water ices.' The *ao* does not become *áu* in this word, for, being a street-ery, both elements are distinctly pronounced with a level stress.

§ 24. Atonic *o*.

Pretonic *o* remains as in Castilian; for example, *ordinario*, *continuo*, *compresito*.

Posttonic *o* does not occur in Mexican Spanish.

§ 25. Atonic *u*.

Pretonic and posttonic *u* remain as in Castilian; for example, *lugar*, *chulo*, *disipulo*, etc.

¹ Blumentritt, *Vocabular*, s. v.

² *Phon. Stud.*, vi, pp. 288-9.

CHAPTER IV.

CONSONANTS.

LABIALS.

§ 26. *Pronunciation.*

The *b* and *v* in Mexican, as in Castilian, have the sound of bi-labial fricative and are not distinguishable one from the other. Marroquin, in the following passage, extends this bi-labial pronunciation to the whole of Spanish America; "No damos regla alguna que se refiera al origen latino de las voces, ni admitimos como algunos autores, que la pronunciacion puede servir de norma para distinguir y emplear oportunamente la *c*, la *s*, la *z*, la *b* y la *v* pues nadie ignora que en la *America Española es uno mismo sonido que se da á las tres primeras y uno tambien que se da á las dos ultimas.*"¹ An exception must, however, be made to the above statement in the case of Cuba,² the Curagoa islands³ and Costa Rica,⁴ where *b* has in all cases supplanted *v* and is a bi-labial fricative in character.

Semeleder, in speaking of the Mexican pronunciation, remarks: "Eine andere Quelle von Fehlern in die Rechtschreibung ist die besonders weiche Aussprache von B welche wie V (W) klingt; so wird Bazo (braun, die Milz) zu Vaso (Glas oder Gefäss)." ⁵

The *p* and *f* have retained the Castilian pronunciation.

§ 27. *Initial b, v.*

Initial *b* and *v* before *ue* have disappeared in pronunciation: BUENO > *wɛno*, BUEY > *wɛy*, VUELA > *wɛla*, VUELTA > *wɛlta*, etc. The same fall of *b, v* is found in Chile.⁶ Remembering

¹ *Tratados de Ortología*, p. VII.

² *Amer. Phil. Ass.*, I, p. 150.

³ *Wissenschaft. Ver.*, I, p. 15.

⁴ *Wortschp.*, p. 112.

⁵ *Prov. de C. R.*, p. 512.

⁶ *Phon. Stud.*, VI, p. 292.

that *ue* is a rising diphthong (*u^é*), and that the *u* is consequently semi-consonantal (*ụ*), the disappearance of initial *b* (*v*) is a natural phenomenon, due to assimilation of the *b* to the following *ụ*. The only difference between *b* and *ụ* is that the lips are slightly opened for the latter, while the friction is more marked for the former; hence, anticipation of the *ụ*-sound changes the *b* from a pure bi-labial fricative consonant to a semi-vowel *ụ*, and *bueno* > *ụu^éno* > *weno*. This change of *b* to *ụ* is exactly the same as that which takes place in Old French for Latin words ending in *-vum* before a word beginning with a vowel; for example, *clavum* + *vok.* > *clauu* > *clou*. Here the *u* of *-vum* is made semi-consonantal by the presence of the initial vowel of the following word; the *ụ* then exerts an assimilating influence upon the preceding *v* which was bi-labial in Latin.¹

Another development which is characteristic of the rural districts, rather than of Mexico City, is the change of initial *bue* (*vue*) to *güe*; for example, *BUENO* > *gü^éno*, *BUEY* > *gü^éy*, *VUELTO* > *gü^élto*, etc. The phenomenon is wide-spread among the lower classes of Spain;² the extent of its occurrence in America is not yet determined, but it is known to exist in Buenos Ayres,³ Bogotá,⁴ Costa Rica⁵ and the rural districts of Uruguay and the Argentine Republic.⁶

This *güe* is simply a further development of *ue* mentioned above; namely, the initial *w* underwent exactly the same change as Gothic and Arabic *w* which became *gu* in Spanish. Goldschmidt remarks on this subject: "Lat. *v-* in einer anzahl von worten zu *gu* geworden ist, und zwar meist in solchen, denen ein ähnliches germ. wort zur seite steht, zb. *vastare* > *guastar*, *vulpes* > *golpe* (cf. germ. *wastan wulfs*) und so könnte man wohl an 'eine deutsche schattierung rom. worte' glauben. Aber man bedenke, dass sich dieser wandel auch in worten findet, wo kein germ. einfluss vorliegen kann, und dass er

¹*Zts.*, VIII, pp. 382-384.

²*Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 58.

³*Prov. de C. R.*, p. 363.

⁴*Grundriss*, I, p. 702.

⁵*Leng. Bogot.*, p. 483.

⁶*Mod. Lang. Notes*, VIII, p. 23.

sich spontan auch nach aufhören der germ. invasion entwickelt hat. . . . So wird im astur. jedes *vu-* (gleichgiltig ob primär oder secundär) > *gu-*; *bonus bueno* > *guëno*, sp. [a] *buëlo* = ast. *guëlo*, sp. *hueso* = ast. *guëso*."¹ Meyer-Lübke mentions a similar change in Italian: "*v* devant *o*, *a* peut ou bien tomber, ou bien devenir *gʷ*, *g*, en passant par *y*."²

§ 28. *Initial p.*

Initial *p* remains as in Castilian; for example, *peña*, *puerta*, *plata*, etc.

§ 29. *Initial f.*

Latin initial *f* became *h* in Castilian and remained aspirate until late in the sixteenth century. The only exception to this rule was before *ue*, *ui* where Latin *f* remained; all other Castilian words having initial *f* show learned influence or a borrowing from the Galician or Asturian dialects. In Mexico *f* has become *h* even before *ue*, *ui*, and in this case it has retained its aspiration, while in all other cases the *h* has become silent as in Spain. Examples: *FUERZA* > '*huęrsa*, *FUETE* > '*huętę*, *FUERTE* > '*huęrtę*, *FUI* > '*hui*, *FUIMOS* > '*huimos*. In Spain this change has been noted for Andalucia, Asturia, Estremadura and Santander,³ and in America the phenomenon is equally wide-spread, even including Porto Rico. In transcribing the popular speech of these districts, the letter *j* is generally used to represent the aspirate sound just mentioned. Schuchardt, after a careful study of the Andalusian dialects, concludes that the sound is simply an aspirate *h* (the *h* of German *haben*), and Storm reaches the same conclusion in regard to the Spanish of Porto Rico.⁴

It is worthy of mention that in Andalucia, Estremadura and East Asturia, every *h* out of Latin *f* is still pronounced, while in Galicia, Latin *f* has remained in all cases, giving such

¹*Germ. Elem. im Span.*, p. 5.

²*Dial. Cast.*, p. 13.

³*Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, I, § 446.

⁴*Romania*, v, p. 179.

forms as *facer*, *fijo*, etc.¹ In Buenos Ayres, not only *fue*-, *fui*- > 'hue-, 'hui-, but *fu*- > 'hu-; for example, *pro'hundo* (PRO-FUNDO), 'husil (FUSIL).² In Mexico one hears occasionally *al'hombra* (ALFOMBRA), *o'hicio* (OFICIO).

A few isolated words show preservation of the sixteenth century pronunciation; for example, 'humo for Castilian (H)UMO, 'hoyo for Castilian (H)OYO.

§ 30. Medial *b*, *v*.

Medial *b* (*v*) has the same history as when initial, that is, it remains as *b* except before *ue*, *ui*, in which case there is a double development to *we* or *güe*; for example, HABER > aḃeṛ, IBA > iḃa; but ABUELO > awelo or agüelo, ENVUELTO > ɛnwɛlto or ɛngüelto.

b > *m* in ḃagamundo < VAGABUNDO. This is doubtless a case of popular etymology, due to a confusion of the element -bundo with mundo, since the expression "correr el mundo" is so frequently used in connection with the vagabond. A confusion of the two forms of this word is by no means rare in Spain.

lamber (Lat. *lambere*) calls for explanation. The Castilian form is *lamer*, but *lamber* occurs in Portugal, Galicia³ and Santander,⁴ hence we may suppose that the word came into Mexico from one of the North Spanish provinces, and is a survival from the Old Spanish. The Mexican form is found also in Bogotá⁵ and Venezuela.⁶

The verbs *oaer* and *traer* form an imperfect tense *káiḃa*, *tráiḃa*. The first stage in this development is a change of accent, CAÍFA > *káia*, TRAÍFA > *tráia*; later there is a confusion with verbs of the first conjugation which regularly have an accented *a* preceding the termination.

¹Gram. Gal., p. 249.

²Gram. Gal., pp. 34, 44, etc.

³Leng. Bogot., p. 471.

⁴Soc. de Ling., II, p. 59.

⁵Dial. Cast., p. 3.

⁶Rivodó, Voces Nuevas, p. 245.

§ 31. *Medial p, f.*

Medial *p* and *f* remain as in Castilian; for example, *kapa* (CAPA), *χɛfɛ* (JEFE), etc.

§ 32. *Finals.*

The labials have not remained as finals in Castilian or Mexican Spanish. The only exception is *klub* < English CLUB.

§ 33. *b + cons.*

Araujo states that *b* is not pronounced in Castilian in combinations *subst-* and *subsc-*; for example, *sustancia*, *suscripcion*. In Mexico *b* of the prefix *sub-* falls in every case where it is followed by a consonant except *l*: SUBSTANCIA > *sustansia*, SUBSCRIPCION > *suskrisign*, SUBTERRANEO > *sulɛrraño*, SUBMARINO > *sumarino*, SUBDIACONO > *suɕiakono*. The same rule holds good for the prefix *ob-*, which, however, rarely occurs in Castilian except before *s*: OBSERVAR > *ɔsɛrɓar*, OBSCURO > *ɔskuro* OBTENER > *ɔtɛnɛr*.

§ 34. *p + cons.*

The combinations *pt*, *ps* and *pc* occur in Castilian only in learned or borrowed words; in all other cases the *p* has fallen. In Mexico these learned or borrowed words have undergone the same reduction as original Latin words having the same combinations of consonants. Examples: ACEPTO > *asɛto*, PRECEPTOR > *prɛsɛitɔr*, ECLIPSE > *ɛklis*, CORRUPCION > *kɔrrusign*, PROSCRIPCION > *prɔskrisign*. Forms like *aseuto* (ACEPTO), *conseuto* (CONCEPTO) occur occasionally and are probably introduced from North Spain.

káusula (< CAPSULA) shows the same development as that which has taken place in Castilian *cautivo*, *bautisar*, etc.

DENTALS.

§ 35. *Initial t, s.*

Initial *t* and *s* remain as in Castilian; for example, *təðo*, *sala*, etc.

§ 36. *Initial d.*

Initial *d* does not occur in *ɣnðɛ* (Cast. DONDE). This word is a survival of the Old Spanish form (< Lat. *unde*) which has been preserved in the popular speech, both of Spain and America.

With quite a large number of people in Mexico, there is a tendency to drop the initial *d* in pretonic syllables, hence such forms as *ɛstruir*, *ɛspacho*, *e*, etc. The same tendency is especially strong in Aragon,¹ and is due to the characteristically weak pronunciation of *d*, which, from its very nature, may easily fall. Isolated cases may be found in Spanish-speaking provinces; for example, *ecir* is the common form in Andalucia for *decir*, *diz que* in Bogotá has become *es que*, which in Venezuela is still further reduced to *i que*.²

On the other hand, we find inorganic initial *d* in Asturian³ *dalgun*, and in Porto Rico⁴ such forms as *diba*, *diban* are of frequent occurrence.

§ 37. *Initial c (+ e, i), z.*

Initial *c* (followed by *e* and *i*) and *z* have the sound of pure dental sibilant *s*; for example, *sena* (CENA), *sielo* (CIELO), *sapatɔ* (ZAPATO), *sɔrrɔ* (ZORRO), etc.

The pronunciation of *c* (+ *e*, *i*) and *z* in Spain before the eighteenth century is one of the unsettled questions of Spanish phonetics. It is, however, generally supposed that *ç* represented a voiceless *s*, while *z* indicated a voiced dental sibilant,

¹*Dial. Cast.*, p. 82.

²*Palab. y Frases Bables*, p. 41.

³*Leng. Bogot.*, p. 234.

⁴*El Jíbaro*, pp. 49, 50, etc.

though the symbols are frequently confounded in the same word. In the manuscripts of the Old Spanish period, *s* is often used for *z*, but Baist remarks that the sign which has been mistaken for *s* was simply another form of writing *z* and had the voiced quality of the latter.¹ However this may be, there is an interesting statement made in the *Diálogo de la Lengua* (written, according to Ticknor, before 1536), which throws some light on the subject of pronunciation :

“Marcio. De dónde viene que algunos españoles en muchos vocables, que por el ordinario escribís con *z*, ellos ni la pronuncian ni la escriben ?

Valdés. Eso es vicio de las lenguas de los tales, que no les sirven para aquella asperilla pronunciación de la *z*, y ponen en su lugar la *s*, y por *hacer* dicen *haser*, y por *razon*, *rason*, y por *recio*, *resio*.”²

The *s* to which Valdes refers must be voiceless, otherwise there would be no difference between *s* and *z*. And moreover, remembering that Valdes was a courtier at the court of Charles V, the force of his remarks would be lost if he were not referring to the educated classes. In fact the word *escriben* gives a fair idea of the status of the people whose pronunciation is criticised. Hence we may infer that at this time (1536) there was creeping into the literary speech a vulgarism which confused the pronunciation of *ç* and *z* and made them both voiceless instead of keeping the latter voiced.

Velasco (1582), writing at the time when *ç* and *z* had become interdental, says that they represented different sounds, the first being voiceless, the second voiced. Storm, after a consideration of Velasco's statement and having in mind the fact that *ç* and *z* were frequently confounded, comes to the following conclusion : “Velasco ist wahrscheinlich durch die Verschiedenheit der Zeichen verleitet worden, auch eine Verschiedenheit der Aussprache anzunehmen.”³ Now as both voiced and

¹ *Libro de la Oveja*, p. 207.

² *Mayans y Siscar, Orig. de la Leng. Esp.*, p. 72.

³ *Eng. Phil.*, I, p. 48.

voiceless dental sibilant were used by the more careful and conservative speakers before 1536, it is more natural to suppose that in Velasco's time (1582) there existed side by side both a voiced and voiceless interdental, but this pronunciation belonged to the conservative element of society and naturally represents the custom that Velasco would describe in his work. On the other hand, there may have existed among the majority of the educated classes only the voiceless interdental, since they knew only the voiceless dental fricative out of which the interdental was developed.

Another point is to be noted. The Spanish *c* before *e*, *i*, and *z* in all positions have the sound of *s* in the speech of the educated classes of Mexico, South America¹ and Cuba,² and this conformity of pronunciation would argue strongly for the fact that the simple sibilant was the sound used in the literary speech of Spain at the time of the colonization of these territories.

It is a very general idea with those who have written on American Spanish, that the pronunciation of *c* and *z* as *s* is due to a large Andalusian element among the American colonists. In contradiction to this idea compare the following statement of Morel-Fatio: "In Andalusia *c* and *z* are seldom pronounced like *s*, but a feature more peculiar to the Andalusians is the inverse process—the softened or interdental pronunciation of *s* (the so-called *ceceo*) *zeñor* (senor), etc."³

Von Name mentions an interesting development among certain inhabitants of Cuba and the Curaçoa islands: "*z* has the sound of *s* as has also *c* before *e*, but before *i* like *s* in the same position, it passes into English *sh* thus . . . *shelu* (*cielo*), *dushi* (*dulce*), *shete* (*siete*)."⁴ These Creole words have of course passed through the stage *sielo*, *dulse*, *siete*, and the modern form represents the same development that took place in original Latin words in the Old Spanish pronunciation; for example, *vesica* > *vešiga*, *dixit* > *diše*, etc. Lenzner men-

¹ Marroquin, *Ortologia*, p. VIII.

² *Ency. Brit.*, XXII. p. 351.

³ Förster, *Span. Sprachlehre*, p. 13.

⁴ *Amer. Phil. Ass.*, I, p. 150.

tions certain Indian loan-words in Guatemala which contain the sound *š*; namely, *mišco* (*mixto*), *tapišcar* (*tapižcar*), *cacašte* (*cacašte*).¹ In Mexico there are at least three words which have initial *š*-sound; namely, *šoko*, *šunde* and *šoma*. The last-mentioned, *šoma*, is the name of a wooden drinking-cup and hence may be in some way connected with the vulgar Spanish *chomar* 'to drink.'

§ 38. Medial *t*, *s*.

Medial *t* and *s* remain as in Castilian; for example, *roto*, *kasa*, etc.

§ 39. Medial *d*.

Medial *d* between *a-o* and *a-a* regularly falls; thus, *-ADO* > *-ao*, *-ADA* > *aa*. These forms are further reduced to *áu* and *a* respectively; for example, *MAMADO* > *mamao* > *mamáu*, *COLORADO* > *colorao* > *colgráu*, *PEGADA* > *pegaa* > *pega*, *NADA* > *naa* > *na*.

The fall of *d* in the cases mentioned above, is general throughout Spain and America. The extent to which *d* has fallen in the termination *-ido* has not yet been determined, and the opinions on this subject are widely different. Kroeh states that "This practice of dropping the *d* is very general in Spain and America when this letter is final or when it occurs in the endings *ido* and *ado*."² Mugica, on the other hand, seems to regard the phenomenon as characteristic of Andalusia.³

ñiðe, *ñiðo* for Castilian *vi*, *vio* are the Old Spanish forms which have been preserved in provincial Spain and America.

§ 40. Medial *c* (+ *e*, *i*), *z*.

Medial *c* (+ *e*, *i*) and *z* (+ *a*, *o*, *u*) have the same sound as when initial, that is, voiceless dental sibilant; for example, *açer* (*HACER*), *preçiço* (*PRECIOSO*), *plasa* (*PLAZA*), *açul* (*AZUL*).

¹*Mod. Lang. Notes*, VIII, p. 84.

²*Pronunciation of Spanish*, p. 11.

³*Gram. de Cast. Antig.*, § 259.

§ 41. *Final d.*¹

Final *d* falls; for example, *USTED* > *usté*, *VERDAD* > *berdá*, *VIRTUD* > *birtú*. The fall of final *d* is very general in Spain, in fact Cuervo states that it is silent "dondequiera que se habla nuestra lengua,"² and Araujo remarks that even the educated of Madrid say *usté*.

An interesting exception in Mexico is *redé*, which corresponds to Castilian *RED* (< Lat. *rēdē*). The Mexican form is doubtless introduced from the Galician dialect in which Latin final *e* is preserved; for example, *bondade*, *piedade*, *mercede*.³ Saco Arce states that the final *e* of these Galician words is added, but Morel-Fatio is probably correct in supposing that the *e* is the Latin posttonic which was retained in the Old Leon dialect.⁴ In fact, similar forms occur as far back as the *Poema del Cid*. The creole form of *red* in Cuba and Curaçoa is *reda*.

Cuervo mentions a similar retention of posttonic *e* in Bogotá; namely, *huespede* (*HUESPED*).⁵

§ 42. *Final s.*

Final *s* before a word beginning with a vowel or voiceless consonant has the sound of voiceless dental sibilant: *mes*, *tras*, *después*, etc.

Final *s* before a word beginning with a voiced consonant (except *l* or *r*) becomes a voiced dental sibilant: *TRES DIAS* > *treş ðias*, *LES DIGO* > *leş ðigo*, *LOS BORREGOS* > *leş bōrregos*, *LOS MISMOS* > *leş meşmos*. A discussion of this phenomenon will be found under 's + cons.' § 45.

Final *s* falls before a word beginning with *l*, *r* or a sibilant. Before *r*: *MAS RICO* > *ma rikō*, *DOS REALES* > *dō rialēs*, *LOS REMEDIOS* > *lō remēdiōs*; before *l*: *MAS LARGO* > *ma largō*, *TODOS LOS DIAS* > *tōdō lōş ðias*; before a sibilant: *DOS CIENTOS* (= *dos sientos*) > *dō siēntōs*, *LAS SILLAS* > *la siyas*.

¹ Final *t* does not occur.² *Leng. Bogot.*, 473.³ *Gram. Gal.*, p. 20.⁴ *Romania*, IV, p. 33.⁵ *Leng. Bogot.*, p. 465.

Meyer-Lübke, in treating the final *s* in Spanish, remarks: "En espagnol l'*s* est maintenant en voie de s'assourdir, et l'assourdissement a déjà été réalisé en andalous."¹ Kroeh, speaking in a rather indefinite manner of the Spanish of Spain and America, states that "Final *s* is frequently dropped in conversation when the next word begins with a consonant, especially *l, m, n, r*."² Schuchardt states that in Andalusia *s* before a consonant or when final has become *h*, that is, it has passed from "tonlose Enge zu tonlose Weite,"³ and Cuervo mentions the same pronunciation in Bogotá.⁴ For Mexico we have Semeleder's statement that "Die Bewohner der Ostküste, so wie die Cubaner, verschlingen das *s* am Ende der Worte oder verwandeln es in einem hauchenden Laut der fast wie *f* klingt. Derselbe geschieht oft sogar mit inlautendem *s*."⁵ The *f*-sound here referred to is doubtless the *f* before *ue, ui*, that is, 'h.

From the remarks noted above it is evident that the fall of *s* in Mexico City is much more restricted than in the districts just mentioned; in other words, if we omit the fall of final *s* before a sibilant (which is a case of simple reduction of two identical sounds) the fall takes place only before the liquids *l, r*. Brugmann⁶ shows that the fall of *s* in Old Latin took place first before the consonants *n, d, l*. In this connection, one case can be cited where *s* falls before *n* in Mexico; namely, BUENAS NOCHES > *wəna noçhes*. Compare also the forms *dejémolo, llamémola*, etc., in Costa Rica,⁷ and the literary Spanish forms *vamonos, hablamonos*, etc. In Old French, *s* early became silent before *m, n, l, r*; in modern Provençal, we find *lai, lei* before *d, l, m, s*, but *les, las* before the consonants *p, k, t*.⁸ Thus it is evident that the fall of *s* in Mexico, though not so extensive as in other Spanish domains, is in harmony with the principles established for other languages; that is to say, the break was made before the liquids and in Mexico before *l, r (n)*.

¹Gram. des Lang. Rom., I, p. 509.

²Pronunciation of Spanish, p. 14.

³Zs., V, pp. 319-320.

⁴Leng. Bogot., p. 481.

⁵Wissensch. Ver., I, p. 14.

⁶Comparative Grammar, I, pp. 505-507.

⁷Prov. de C. R., p. 513.

⁸Gram. des Lang. Rom., I, § 627.

§ 43. *Inorganic final s.*

The second person singular of the preterit tense always ends in *s*, hence the words *estubíles* (ESTUVISTE), *tubíles* (TUVISTE), *comíles* (COMISTE), *mandátes* (MANDASTE), etc. The final *s* is added by analogy to the second person singular of all other tenses.¹ In Andalucía² and Bogotá³ the corresponding forms are *comistes*, *hablastes*, etc.

The noun *café* forms a plural *kaféses* (Cast. CAFÉS). Cuervo mentions two analogous examples for Bogotá; namely, *pieses* plural of *pie*, and *ajises* plural of *aji*; he mentions also Quindalé's statement that such plurals are "inficionados de gitanismo."⁴ Now, whether the forms found in South America and Mexico represent a direct borrowing from the *gitanos*, or whether they represent a parallel development in the folk-speech of America, the explanation of the final *es* is evident, especially for *pieses* and *cafeses*. There are but few words in Spanish which end in accented *e*. These words regularly form a plural by addition of *s*, thus making a final *-és*, which ending is naturally confused with the large number of words having *-és* in the singular, that form their plural by adding an atonic *es*; for example, *mes meses*, *cortés corteses*, *Frances Franceses*. In Spanish America the number of such words is greatly enlarged by the fact that *-ez* is pronounced *es*, hence *ves (vez) veses*, *jues (juez) jueses*, etc. Therefore the formation of a plural *caféses*, *pieses* upon the original plural *cafés*, *piés* seems a very natural process.

§ 44. *d + cons.*

d followed by *m* regularly becomes *l*; for example, ADMITIR > *almitir*, ADMIRABLE > *almirablē*, ADMINISTRADOR > *almi-nistraðor*, etc. Maspero mentions similar forms in Buenos

¹ *Romania*, XXII, pp. 71-86.² *Zis.*, v, p. 320.³ *Leng. Bogot.*, p. 134.⁴ *Leng. Bogot.*, p. 76.

Ayres.¹ This change of *d* to *l* is a physiological one; the sides of the tongue are lowered in anticipation of the following liquid *m*, thus changing the explosive *d* to the liquid *l*.

dr > *gr* in MADRE and PADRE, which become respectively *magre* and *pagre*. These forms, however, are confined chiefly to the Indians of the interior and are rarely heard in Mexico City. The word *pagre* is found also in Chile.² An explanation of the Mexican words may be found in the fact that *r* did not exist in the Nahuatl language, consequently the Indian, in attempting to pronounce the Spanish *r*, made it guttural, then, in anticipation of this guttural *r*, the tongue is drawn back from the *d*- to the *g*-position.

§ 45. *s* + voiced consonant.

s followed by a voiced consonant regularly becomes voiced: MISMO > *mɛ̃smo*, DURASNO > *ɖurasno*, etc. This change of *s* to *ʒ* is the same as that mentioned for final *s* before a word beginning with a voiced consonant.³

The extent of the occurrence of voiced *ʒ* in Spain is an unsettled question; for example, Kroeh⁴ and Knapp⁵ deny its existence in Castilian; Meyer-Lübke states that "l'espagnole en général possède aucune sifflante sonore;"⁶ Baist admits the voiced sound "im Auslaut und vor *g*."⁷ The latest opinion on the subject is by Araujo, whose results correspond to those noted for Mexico: "Kuando la *s* ortográfika ba delante de alguna konsonante sonora, se kontajia más o menos de su sonoridad."⁸

§ 46. *s* + *t*.

The initial syllable *es-* falls in ESTANQUE and in all forms of the verb ESTAR. The fact that *tanque* is found in Galicia⁹

¹ *Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 62.

⁴ *Pronunciation of Spanish*, p. 14.

⁶ *Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, I, p. 393.

⁸ *Fonética Kastelana*, p. 54.

² *Phon. Stud.*, VI, p. 160.

⁵ *Span. Gram.*, p. 13.

⁷ *Grundriss*, I, p. 694.

⁹ *Dicc. Gal.*, p. 297.

³ Cf. § 42.

and Asturia¹ makes it possible that the Mexican form was introduced from North Spain. *Tanque* is found also in Venezuela.²

The fall of *es-* in *ESTAR* takes place also in Asturia³ and Cuba.⁴ The weakening of *s* before a consonant is characteristic of Andalucía and Bogotá, and Schuchardt remarks on this subject: "Dass das spanische *s* vor consonanten anders articulirt wird, als zwischen Vocalen und dass diese Verschiedenheit im Portugiesischen noch schärfer hervortritt, ist oben schon bemerkt worden. Es ist dieses *s*, welches in Andalusischen zu *h* wird, so: *ehlá, bohco, mihmo*."⁵ Mexico represents a stage of further development than that just quoted; that is, the *eh* has fallen entirely and we may suppose the stages *está* > *ehlá* > *'tá* > *tá*. The Andalusian stage *eha* has been preserved in Chile⁶ and Bogota,⁷ where we find such forms as *cohta, ehta*, etc.

In *tá* < *HASTA* there must have been a change of accent before the weakening of the *s* took place, that is, *HÁSTA* > *hastá* > *a'htá* > *'tá* > *tá*.

PALATALS.

§ 47. Initial *c*, *qu*.

Initial *c* (+ *a*, *o*, *u*) and *qu* (+ *e*, *i*) retain the Castilian pronunciation; for example, *kasa, kōmō, kuna, kēdō, kintō*.

§ 48. Initial *g*.

Initial *g* generally remains as in Castilian; for example, *gana, gōbierna, gerra* (*GUERRA*), *giar* (*GUIAR*).

g before *ua* regularly disappears in pronunciation; *GUARDA* > *warḏa*, *GUAJOLOTE* > *waxōlotē*, *GUADALAJARA* > *wada-*

¹*Palab. y Frases Bables*, p. 114.

²*Voces Nuevas*, p. 245.

³*Palab. y Frases Bables*, p. 113.

⁴*Amer. Phil. Ass.*, I, p. 156.

⁵*Zts.*, v, p. 319.

⁶*Phon. Stud.*, VI, p. 23.

⁷*Leng. Bogot.*, p. 481.

laxara, GUADALUPE > *wadalupę*. Other portions of Spanish America where the same pronunciation is found are Chile,¹ Cuba and the Curaçoa Islands.² Kroeh in his *Pronunciation of Spanish in Spain and America* remarks: "When *gua* begins a word some drop the *g* and pronounce *u* like *w*; guardar = wardar."³ This statement throws no light on the extent of the phenomenon, and furthermore, we shall see later that in Mexico it is not confined to initial *gua*, for *g* falls also in medial *gua* and *guo*.

Since Castilian initial *gua* occurs only in words of Germanic or Arabic origin, a natural supposition is that the Mexican pronunciation may be a preservation of the original *wa*-sound. In support of such an explanation we should expect to find traces of the *w* in Old Spanish and in some of the modern dialects of Spain. But the *wa* does not occur in Old Spanish, and if it exists in the modern vulgar speech of Spain, the fact has not been mentioned by any of the numerous writers on Spanish dialects. On the contrary, the phenomenon is found only in Spanish America, and even here it seems to be limited to Chile, Cuba, Curaçoa and Mexico. Another point against the supposition that Mexican *wa* represents the original Gothic or Arabic sound is the fact that it is found also in medial position, out of *gua* that goes to back Latin *qua*; for example, AGUA > *awa*, IGUAL > *ival*. Hence we must suppose that *wa* is a later development of *gua*, which took place after the Spanish conquest of America.

The physiological explanation of such a change is a natural one; it represents an assimilation of *g* to the following semi-vowel *y*, that is, *gua* > *yua* > *wa*. This development has a counterpart in the history of the Old French development of Latin *-cum*, *-gum*, followed by a word beginning with a vowel: *fagum* + vok > *faɣy* > *fou*.⁴ A still closer analogy may be seen in Provençal, where *faɣy* > *fau*.⁵ In English,

¹*Zts.*, xv, p. 519.²*Amer. Phil. Ass.*, I, p. 151.³*loc. cit.*, p. 12.⁴*Zts.*, viii, pp. 385-395.⁵*Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, I, p. 391.

also, there is a series of words showing a similar change to that found in Mexico; namely, *wait*, *warison*, *warrant*, in which the initial *wa* has its origin in French *gua*, which, in turn, goes back to Germanic *wa*.

§ 49. *Initial j, g (+ e, i).*

Initial *j* and *g (+ e, i)* have preserved the Castilian pronunciation of guttural spirant χ : *χamas*, *χeneral*, *χoben*, etc.

In Galicia¹ and the Philippine Islands,² *j* has the sound of *ś*, that is, it has preserved the sixteenth century pronunciation.

§ 50. *Initial ch.*

Initial *ch* retains the dento-palatal sound of the Castilian: *charla*, *chiko*, *chulo*, etc.

§ 51. *Medial c, qu.*

Medial *c (+ a, o, u)* and *qu (+ e, i)* remain as in Castilian; for example, *sako*, *tokē*, *chikito*.

kogotē (Cast. *COCOTE*) is the preservation of a Northern Spanish form which is found in Vizcaya and Aragon.³

§ 52. *Medial g.*

Medial *g* generally remains as in Castilian; for example, *θiálogo*, *tráigo*.

Medial *g* before *ua*, *uo* has the same development as initial *g* before *ua*, that is, it disappears in pronunciation by means of assimilation to the following χ : *AGUA* > *ayya* > *awa*, *CHICHIGUA* > *chichiwa*, *ANTIGUO* > *antiwo*, etc.

Medial *g* has disappeared in *auχero* (*AGUJERO*), *auχa* (*AGUJA*). The Mexican form occurs also in Bogotá,⁴ Chile⁵

¹*Gram. Gal.*, p. 13. ²*Wien. Akad.*, cv, p. 141. ³*Dial. Cast.*, pp. 50, 53.

⁴*Leng. Bogot.*, p. 484.

⁵*Phon. Stud.*, vi, 289.

and Costa Rica,¹ and may possibly show a borrowing from the Aragonese dialect.²

(h) *áiga* (Cast. HAYA) is a survival of the Old Spanish and provincial form which is similar in development to Castilian TRAIGO < *trayo*. Cuervo mentions other analogous forms for Bogotá; namely, *creigá* (CREA), *leiga* (LEA), *reiga* (REA), etc.³

áigre (Cast. AIRE) shows an epenthetic *g* which is probably called into existence by the velar *r* in the Indian pronunciation; compare *magre*, *pagre*, § 44. The form *aigre* is found also in Costa Rica.⁴ Lenz offers the following explanation for the Chilian *adre*: "Ein schönes beispiel von 'überentäusserung' nach GARTNERS benennung, ist die bildung *adre* statt *aire*, die aber natürlich nicht populär, sondern dem *mediopelo* (dem halbgebildeten) eigen ist; eine falsche analogiebildung nach der verbesserung des vulgären *páire* zum 'gebildeten' *padre*."⁵ Such an explanation cannot apply to Mexican *aigre* (cf. *pagre*) which is strictly popular in its use.

§ 53. Medial *j*, *g* (+ *e*, *i*).

Medial *j* and *g* (+ *e*, *i*) remain as in Castilian; for example, *muxer*, *traxer*, etc.

šamasana (Cast. DAMAJUANA) shows a preservation of the popular Spanish form.

§ 54. Medial *ch*.

Medial *ch* remains as in Castilian; for example, *mucho*, *echa*, *leche*, etc.

§ 55. Finals.

The palatals do not occur as finals in Castilian. Final *c* has fallen in Indian and foreign words; for example, CUTTLAHUAC > *Kyúllawá*, CHAPOLTEPEC > *Chapultepecé*, TEHUANTEPEC >

¹ *Prov. de C. R.*, p. 74.

² *Dicc. de Voces Arag.*, s. v.

³ *Leng. Bogot.*, p. 484.

⁴ *Prov. de C. R.*, p. 30.

⁵ *Phon. Stud.*, vi, p. 286.

Tewantēpē, Huautemōc > *Wautemō*; NEW YORK > *Nueba Yor*,
BEEFSTEAK > *bistē*.

English CHECK > *chēkē* in which a posttonic *e* is added to prevent the occurrence of a final guttural stop.

The final *j* of *reloj* is silent both in Spain and Mexico.

§ 56. *c* + cons.

ct: Latin *ct* has regularly become *ch* in Spanish, consequently all modern Castilian words having the group *ct* must be either learned or borrowed, and it is these words that call for explanation.

c of the Castilian combination *ct* has fallen in Mexico, leaving behind an epenthetic *i* if the preceding vowel is *a* or *e*; for example, REDACTOR > *redaitōr*, ACTOR > *aitōr*; DEFECTO > *defēito*, RESPECTO > *reſpēito*; DOCTOR > *doōr*, OCTAVO > *otaō*; CONDUCTOR > *kōndutōr*, OCTUBRE > *otubrē*.

Meyer-Lübke, in treating of original Latin *ct* which became *ch* in Castilian, remarks: "En Espagne, *ch* ne se rencontre plus dans le Nord-Ouest qui, pour d'autres traits aussi, s'éloigne du castillan, non plus que dans l'aragonais, le navarrais et l'asturien où nous trouvons le degré portugais *it*. Mais est-ce que *feita* . . . *dereyta* . . . *feito*, etc., sont réellement des formes dialectales, ou bien reproduisent-elles le plus ancien état castillan, c'est ce qui est douteux."¹ In connection with this passage compare Baist's statement: "*ct* wird intervokalisches zu *ch*; die Zwischenstufe *yt* tritt in der Einwirkung auf den vorausgehenden Vokal zu Tag, hat sich im Aragonischen wie Portugiesischen erhalten."² Hence it is evident that the *ct* of Spanish words has had the same development in Mexico that Latin *ct* had in the North Spanish dialects; the physiological explanation is the same as that of *ct* > *it* in French. Carolina Michaelis speaks of the fall of *c* in the popular speech of Spain, but does not mention the development of an epenthetic *i*: "Der

¹*Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, I, p. 416.

²*Grundriss*, I, p. 705.

vulgaire Spanier, ob er Kastilianer oder Katalane oder Valencianer, etc., ist, sagt . . . *letor, protetor, efeto*.”¹

In addition to forms like *defeito, aitor*, etc., we find occasionally in Mexico *defeuto, autor*, etc., but not in sufficient numbers to be called a characteristic of the dialect. Similar double forms are found in Bogotá,² Buenos Ayres,³ Chile,⁴ and for Spain Mugica states that the twofold development occurs in Santander, Andalucia, Galicia “y otras provincias.”⁵

cc: The development of *cc* is similar to that of *ct*, that is, *c* falls, and if the preceding vowel is *a* or *e*, an epenthetic *i* is introduced; for example, ACCION > *aisign*, SATISFACCION > *satisfaisign*, LECCION > *leisign*; AFLICCION > *afisign*, INSTRUCCION > *instrusign*. Similar forms are found in Andalucia,⁶ Buenos Ayres⁷ and Bogotá.⁸

x (*ks*) > *s*; for example, EXACTO > *esáito*, TEXTO > *testo*, INDEX > *inðes*, MAXIMILIANO > *Masimiliano*.

§ 57. *g* + *n*.

g falls in the group *gn*: INDIGNO > *indino*, IGNORANTE > *inorante*, MAGNIFICO > *manifiko*, IGNACIO > *Inasio*. The reduction of *gn* to *n* is very general in Spain and has been noted for Santander, Vizcaya,⁹ Asturia¹⁰ and Andalucia. In the latter province Schuchardt heard also *ñ*.¹¹ In Galicia the resulting sound is sometimes *ñ* (*iñorar, año*),¹² that is, it has the same development as original Latin *gn*, while in Mexico the *g* has been completely assimilated to the following *n* instead of palatalizing it.

¹ *Wortschp.*, p. 110.

² *Leng. Bogot.*, p. 448.

³ *Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 60.

⁴ *Phon. Stud.*, VI, p. 153.

⁵ *Dial. Cast.*, p. 17.

⁶ *Zts.*, V, p. 311.

⁷ *Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 60.

⁸ *Leng. Bogot.*, p. 472.

⁹ *Dial. Cast.*, pp. 17, 51.

¹⁰ *Palab y Frases Bables*, p. 70.

¹¹ *Zts.*, V, p. 310.

¹² *Gram. Gal.*, p. 20.

LIQUIDS.

§ 58. *Initial l, r.*

Initial *l* and *r* remain unchanged; for example, *loko*, *largo*, *raro*, *rio*, etc.

The intensive prefix *re-* is of frequent occurrence and is often strengthened to *rete-*: *regordo*, *retegordo*, etc.

§ 59. *Initial ll.*

Initial *ll* has become *y*: LLAMAR > *yamar*, LLEGAN > *yegan*, LLEVO > *llebo*, etc. The *y*-sound is characteristic of the higher as well as the lower classes in Mexico. The same pronunciation is very general in the popular speech of Spain and America; in Spain Baist makes an exception in regard to Aragon where "das ältere *ll* bleibt,"¹ in America the *y*-sound prevails in Cuba, Peru,² Chile,³ Costa Rica,⁴ Puerto Rico.⁵

In Puebla (Mexico) LL > *ž*: LLENO > *ženo*, LLAMAR > *žamar*, etc. The same pronunciation is found also in San Salvador and Buenos Ayres. Gaston Paris' remark in regard to the *ll* in Buenos Ayres applies to Puebla as well: "A Buenos Ayres on a été plus loin, non seulement *ll* a passé a *y*, mais *y* a passé au son chuintant du français *j*."⁶ That is, the tongue pushes forward the point of contact with the hard palate, thus passing from the voiced palatal to the voiced dento-palatal fricative; in other words, it is the same change that took place in the passage of original Latin *ll* to Old Spanish *ž*.

§ 60. *Medial l, r.*

Medial *l* remains: *mallo*, *sielo* (CIELO), *mula*, etc.

Medial *r* generally remains: *tirar*, *toro*, *bara*, etc.

¹Grundriss, I, p. 704.

²Etym. Forsch., II², p. 60.

³Phon. Stud., VI, p. 31.

⁴Prov. de C. R., p. 512.

⁵El Jibaro, pp. 49, 69, etc.

⁶Romania, VIII, p. 622.

Medial *r* falls in PARA > *paá* > *pa*,¹ and MIRA USTED > *miasté*. The fall of intervocalic *r* takes place in isolated words in Andalucía, Asturia,² Santander and Vizcaya,³ and in America similar cases are found in Buenos Ayres,⁴ Cuba, the Curagoa Islands,⁵ Bogotá,⁶ Costa Rica,⁷ and Porto Rico.⁸

Metathesis takes place in POBRE > *proþe*, PARED > *pader*, GABRIEL > *Grabiél*.

Interchange of *l* and *r* is not so common in Mexico as in provincial Spain; the only cases noted are CALZETIN > *karsetin*, PEREGRINO > *pelegrino*. To these may be added MARINA which in the speech of the Aztec soldiers became *malinche*.⁹

In Peru intervocalic *r* is occasionally changed to *d* (*cavalledo*, *queded*),¹⁰ a phenomenon which is also found in Vizcaya and Aragon.¹¹

Medial *rr* retains the Castilian pronunciation: *charrq*, *tprre*, etc.

§ 61. Medial *ll*.

Medial *ll* has the same history as when it is initial, that is, it becomes *y*: CALLE > *kaye*, TORTILLA > *tprtiya*, CAVALLLO > *caþayo*, etc.

In Puebla *ll* > *z*: GALLINA > *gažina*, TORTILLA > *tprtiža*, etc.

§ 62. Final *l*.

Final *l* remains: *el*, *al*, *moral*, *fiel*, etc.

§ 63. Final *r*.

Final *r* has become voiceless (*r*), so that the only audible sound is a voiceless glide after the preceding vowel; for ex-

¹ Cf. Herrig, *Archiv.*, xxiv, p. 177.

² *Dial. Cast.*, pp. 18, 51.

³ *Amer. Phil. Ass.*, I, p. 151.

⁴ *Prov. de C. R.*, p. 475.

⁵ Bancroft, *Hist. of Mex.*, I, p. 119.

⁶ *Dial. Cast.*, pp. 51, 84.

⁷ *Zts.*, v, p. 317.

⁸ *Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 64.

⁹ *Leng. Bogot.*, p. 478.

¹⁰ *El Jábaro*, pp. 49, 69, etc.

¹¹ *Etym. Forsch.*, II², p. 60.

ample, *COMER* > *komeɾ*, *SEÑOR* > *siɲoɾ*, *HABLAR* > *aɓlar*, etc. The process of weakening final *r* has been taking place in other Spanish dialects, but the ultimate result is not the same in the various districts. Bristed speaks of "the apparent negroism prevalent in Cuba of substituting a vocalized *r* for the strongly trilled final *r*, e. g. *amaw* (or something very like it) for *amar*."¹

In Porto Rico final *r* is sometimes confounded with *l* (*desil*) but more frequently it becomes weakened to *y*; for example, *cuay*, *mejy*, etc.² In Andalucía³ and Curaçoa⁴ final *r* has developed one stage further than in Mexico, that is, it has disappeared entirely; the same is true of the coast population of U. S. of Colombia, where are found such words as *seño*, *mujé*, etc.⁵ This wearing away of final *r* is well-known in the European languages, and in the United States it is found in the pronunciation of the negroes of the South, in their familiar *do* (*door*), *flo* (*floor*), *matta* (*matter*).

§ 64. *r*, *l*, + cons.

r and *l* remain unchanged in consonantal combinations; for example, *algo*, *alma*, *pierno*, *arka*, etc.

ASPIRATE.

§ 65. Initial *h*.

Initial *h* is silent in Modern Castilian, except before the diphthong *ue*; in Mexico it is silent before *ue*, and is aspirate in a few isolated cases when followed by *a*, *o*, *u*; for example, *HUESO* > *weso*, *HUEVO* > *wepo*; but, *'hoyo* ((H)OYO), *'humo* ((H)UMO), *'halar* ((H)ALAR). The conditions in Mexico are very similar to those in Cuba, according to the following

¹ *Zts.*, v, p. 317.

² *El Jibaro*, p. 49, etc.

³ *Zts.*, v, p. 318.

⁴ *Amer. Phil. Ass.*, i, 153, 155.

⁵ *Leng. Bogot.*, p. 478.

remark of Von Name: "The *h* is dealt with quite after the cockney fashion. Before the diphthong *ue*, where in Spanish it is strongly aspirated, in Creole as also in Cuba it is silent; thus, *webu* (*huevo*), *wesu* (*hueso*), *werfano* (*huerfano*). Before other vowels it is silent in Spanish, but generally aspirate in Creole."¹

The aspirate forms in Mexico are probably isolated cases of the preservation of the sixteenth century pronunciation, and this is doubtless true of the many districts of Spain and America where initial *h* is represented by the sign *j*, as for example, in Ecuador, Buenos Ayres, Chile, Costa Rica, Porto Rico, Santander, Andalucia, and likewise the Philippine Islands. In Andalucia the process has gone one step further, and original Castilian *j* (= χ) has become *h*; for example, *iho* (*hijo*), *hente* (*gente*).²

There is, in Mexico, another development of *h* before the diphthong *ue*; namely, HUE > *güe*: HUERO > *güero*, HUEVO > *güebo*, HUESO > *güeso*. Similar forms are still in provincial use in Spain and a large portion of Spanish America. The history of the change is similar to that of BUE > *güe*, that is, the initial *h* becomes silent and the following *u* being semi-vocalic, the *g* arises as explained in § 27.

§ 66. Medial *h*.

Medial *h* is silent in Mexican as well as in Castilian; as a graphic sign it does not prevent the diphthongization of the two vowels which it separates in AHOGAR > *aogar* > *augar*, etc.

NASALS.

§ 67. Initial *m*, *n*.

Initial *m* and *n* generally remain: *malō*, *mucho*, *numero*, *nata*, etc.

¹*Amer. Phil. Ass.*, I, p. 151.

²Wulff, *Chap. de Phon. Andal.*, p. 41.

Initial *n* before the diphthong *ie* regularly becomes *ñ*, at the same time absorbing the *i* of the diphthong: NIETO > *ñeto*, NIEVE > *ñebe*, NERVIOS > *ñerbos* (through a stage *niervos* which is found in Old Spanish as well as in the modern dialects).

The stem-accented forms of the verb *negar* are *ñego* (< NIEGO), *ñegas* (< NIEGAS), *ñega* (< NIEGA), etc. These forms have exerted an influence on the initial *n* of all other forms of the verb, hence we find *ñegar*, *ñegaðo*, *negamqs*, etc.

ñuðo (Cast. NUDO) shows the preservation of a North Spanish form. Mugica, in his remarks on the dialect of Santander, states that "La *n* se muda en *ñ* en *nudo*, tambien del dialecto vizcaino, vocable en que se manifiesta la influencia asturiana como en *añudar* (*anudar*)."¹ Baist also regards *ñudo* as of Asturian origin.²

§ 68. Medial *m*, *n*, *ñ*.

Medial *m*, *n* and *ñ* generally remain: *amo*, *sima* (CIMA), *mano*, *teñer*, *siñor*, *peña*, etc.

Medial *n* before the diphthongs *ie*, *ia*, *io* regularly becomes *ñ*, at the same time absorbing the *i* of the diphthong: ANTONIO > *Antoñio*, MATRIMONIO > *matrimoñio*, ANIEGA > *añega*, etc.

Muncho (Cast. MUCHO) shows the preservation of an Old Spanish form which is still in use in the dialects. According to Meyer-Lübke the *n* of MUNCHO is due to the initial nasal: "Dans beaucoup de localités une *n* et une *m* initial de la syllabe nasalisent la voyelle suivante, cf. encore là-dessus l'espagnol *manzana*, *ninguno*, *mancha*, *muncho*, etc."³ Baist restricts the rule as follows: "Anlautendes *m* erzeugt mehrfach vor *z*, *ch*, *s*, *dr*, *c*, ein *n*."⁴ In other words, the *n* occurs before a dental or dento-palatal, provided the syllable begins with *m*. The influence of the dental upon the development of the nasal is

¹*Dial. Cast.*, p. 20.

²*Grundriss*, I, p. 702.

³*Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, I, p. 519.

⁴*Grundriss*, I, p. 707.

seen in the Creole of Curaçoa in such forms as *cominda* (*comida*), *landa* (*nadar*).

§ 69. *Finals.*

m and *n* do not occur as finals in Mexican or Castilian.

Final *n* generally remains: *χoβen*, *komen*, *sin*, etc.

In Puebla, and occasionally in Mexico City, final *n* > *η*; for example, *gūη* (BUEN), *βη* (VEN), *en fin* (EN FIN), etc. This pronunciation of final *n* is very common in Spain, as may be seen from Meyer-Lübke's statement: "N finale est presque partout vélaire: *n̄*, tel est sûrement le cas, en asturien, en andalous et dans l'Estramadure, dans la province de Léon et la Galice, puis dans les Canaries et à Cuba."¹ Lenz also mentions velar *n* as a characteristic of Peru.² According to Lentzner there is in Guatemala a "tendency to the nasalization of the final -*n* similar to the termination -*ng*; for example, *tambieng* (pronounce *tambieng-ge*, the last syllable being quite faintly sounded) instead of *tambien*; *tenieng* (pronounce *teni-ang-ge*) instead of *tenian*."

The final *n* of *naiden* (Cast. NADIE) is probably by analogy to *combien*, *alguien*, *quien*, rather than the inexplicable final *n* that occurs in some of the Eastern French dialects. The basis of the Mexican *naiden* is the popular Spanish *naide*.

A striking characteristic of Guadalajara (in the State of Jalisco, Mexico) is the adding of a *n*-glide after a final *s*: ARROZ (= *arros*) > *arrosn*, PUES > *puesn*. This *n*-glide is caused by lowering the velum before the *s*-sound is completed; the tongue-position remains the same and stream of breath continues its passage through the nose, thus producing the nasal-glide. Semeleder, in speaking of the inhabitants of the State of Jalisco, states "dass sie den worten ohne Auswahl einen nāsaleden klang anhangen."³ My own observations of the

¹ *Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, I, p. 510.

² *Zts.*, XVII, p. 195.

³ *Wissensch. Ver.*, I, p. 14.

speech of Guadalajara limit the nasal glide to words ending in *s* or *z*.

§ 70. *n* + cons.

n, in the groups *ng*, *nc*, has been drawn back to the post-palatal position by influence of the following guttural; for example, *ḃengo*, *tenga*, *fandango*, *arrañkar*, etc.

n falls in the groups *nt*, *nsp*: INSTRUMENTO > *istrumēto*, INSTANTE > *istantē*, TRANSPARENTE > *trasparenṭē*. The same phenomenon is found in Galicia,¹ Asturia,² Bogotá,³ and Costa Rica,⁴ and is simply a re-working of the law established for Popular Latin.

CHAPTER V.

PHONETIC CHANGES IN WORDS OF NAHUATL ORIGIN.

A. TONIC VOWELS.

§ 71. *Accent*.

The Latin system of accentuation made all other syllables subordinate to that which bore the tonic stress. In Nahuatl, on the other hand, there are five accents each of which has a distinct character of its own; a detailed discussion of these accents is, however, beyond the limit of the present work. Compare the following remark of Antonio del Rincon: "Nota que para la colocation del acento no se ha de mirar como en el latin solo un acento predominante en la diction, porque en esta lengua todos los accentos que tienen las palabras se pronuncian, y asi algunas veces conforme á lo que la diction pide, se hallan dos y tres accentos predominantes semejantes o diferentes."⁵ The reason of this system of accentuation is probably due to the fact that a large number of the polysyllabic words

¹*Gram. Gal.*, p. 263.

²*Zts.*, xvii, p. 301.

³*Leng. Bogotá*, p. 492.

⁴*Proc. de C. R.*, p. 394.

⁵*Gram. y Vocab. Mex.*, p. 63.

are made up of smaller words and particles, each of which has retained, to a marked extent, its original force and meaning.

All Nahuatl words which have come into the Spanish of Mexico are accentuated in conformity with Castilian words, that is, the accent is on the penult if the word ends in a vowel or *n*, and on the final if the word ends in a consonant (except *n*). Hence the number of *esdrújulos* is small, in fact only two examples have been noted; namely, *jíkara* (< XICALLI), *jíkama* (< XICAMATL), and of these the etymology of the first is far from certain.

§ 72. *Vowel signs.*

Fray Alonso Molina, who was the first systematically to transcribe the Nahuatl language in Roman characters, uses five vowel signs, *a, e, i, o, u*.¹ He remarks, however: "Puesto caso que los naturales hagan poca diferencia entre la *o* y la *u* por quanto usan ansi de la una como de la otra."² Later grammarians have noted a similar confusion of the vowels *e* and *i*. When *o* and *e* have been preserved in the dialect, they have the open or close sound in accordance with the rules of pronunciation of Mexican Spanish. The orthography used in the following pages is that of Mendoza and Sanchez,³ who in turn have followed Molina.

§ 73. *Tonic a.*

Tonic *a* remains with the Castilian pronunciation: AHUACATL > *awakatē*, QUAUHCALLI > *wakal*, CHINAMPA > *chinampa*, etc.

§ 74. *Tonic e.*

Tonic *e* has the sound of open or close *e* according to the rules of Castilian pronunciation: AHUEHUETL > *awewetē*, OCOONETL > *kōkōnetē*, TLAPECHTLI > *tapēskle*, etc.

¹Cf. *Bibliography*, No. 79.

²*Mus. Nac.*, iv, p. 128.

³Cf. *Bibliography*, Nos. 77, 86.

§ 75. *Tonic i.*

Tonic *i* remains as close *i*: CACOMITL > *kakōmitē*, MISQUITL > *mēskitē*, APIPITZCA > *apipiska*, etc.

§ 76. *Tonic o.*

Tonic *o* remains as close *o*: XILOTL > *χilōtē* ACOCOTL > *akōkōtē*, TZOPILOTL > *ēpīlōtē*. Exception: TOLLIN > *tule*.

§ 77. *Tonic u.*

Tonic *u* becomes *o*: AMULLI > *amōlē*, ATULLI > *atōlē*, CAYUTL > *cayōl*, CHIMULLI > *chimōlē*. The only exception is *ulli* > *ulē*. A similar change has taken place in aboriginal words in the Spanish of Buenos Ayres; for example, KUNTUR > *condor*, PURUTU > *poroto*.¹

Owing to the lack of scientific study of Nahuatl phonetics, the explanation of the change of checked *u* to *o* must be purely constructive. It seems probable that the *u* being in checked position was originally short and open, or became open on account of its shortness. The passage of such an *ū* to *o* would be the same as that which took place in Popular Latin after the colonization of Sardinia.

§ 78. *Diphthongs ua, ue, ui.*

When preceded by a vowel (or *h*) the diphthongs *UA*, *UE*, *UI* become respectively *wa*, *we*, *wi*; when preceded by a consonant they retain the Castilian pronunciation; for example, *UA*: ACAHUALLI > *akawal*, AHUATL > *awatē*, TLALCACA HUATL > *kakawatē*; TLALQUAZIN > *klakwāshō*. *UE*: AHUEHUETL > *awēwētē*; MOTZINCUEPQUI > *machīnkwēpa*. *UI*: CHAHUIZTLI > *cawīsklē*, CHIQUIHUITL > *chikwītē*; MOYOCUILLI > *moyokwīl*, ITZCUINTLI > *ēskwīnklē*.

¹ *Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 32.

B. ATONIC VOWELS.¹§ 79. *Atonic a.*

Initial *a* generally remains: AHUIZOTL > *awisotē*, AHUACATL > *awakatē*, AHUEHUETL > *awəwətē*, etc.

Exceptions: AHUACAMOLLI > *wakamole*, ATZIZICUILOTL > *chichikuilotē*, ACOCOTLI > *kokotē*.

The prosthetic *a* in *achichinar* (< CHICHINOA) is probably due to a confusion with Castilian *achisharrar* which has the same meaning as the Nahuatl word.

Pretonic *a* remains: TEPALCATL > *tepalkatē*, PINACATL > *pinakatē*, CAXITL > *kaxitē*.

Final *a* remains: APIPITZCA > *apipiska*, CHACHALACA > *chachalaka*, CHINAMPA > *chinampa*. In the termination *-an*, the consonant falls and the vowel is treated as final *a*; for example, CHIAN > *chia*, TEPILOYAN > *klapiloya*.

HUILOTL should have become *wilotē*, but the final *e* is changed to *a* in order to make the word feminine in form, since it corresponds to Castilian *paloma*.

§ 80. *Atonic e.*

Initial *e* remains in ECPALLI > *ēkipalē*, which seems to be the only example of initial *e*.

Pretonic *e* remains: TEPETATL > *tepətātē*, AHUEHUETL > *awəwətē*, etc. Exceptions: *e* > *i* in CHILTECPIN > *chilpikin*, NEXCOMITL > *nəskomil*; *e* > *o* in AYECOTL > *ayokotē*.

Final *e* remains: TILINQUE > *pilinkē*.

§ 81. *Atonic i.*

Initial *i* > *e*: ITZCUINTLE > *ēskuinikle*, IZQUITL > *ēskitē*, ECPALLI > *ēkipalē*.

¹ Posttonic vowels will be treated as *finals*, since an atonic penult occurs in only two words, *jicara* and *jicama*.

Pretonic *i* remains: APIPITZCA > *apipiska*, AHUIZOTL > *awisotē*. Exceptions: *i* > *e* in MIZQUITL > *mēskitē*, TEQUISQUITL > *tēkēskitē*, HUIPILLI > *wepil*.

Tompiatl becomes regularly *tōmpiatē*, which, however, in literary Spanish is written *tompeate*. It is customary for the lower classes to pronounce Castilian *ea*, *eo*, *eu* as *ia*, *io*, *iu*, hence the form *tōmpiate* was supposed to be an example of the popular pronunciation of *ea*, consequently the word is found in the dictionaries as *tompeate*.

Final *i* > *ē*: CHICHI > *chichē*, MULLI > *mōlē*, ATOLLI > *atōlē*, CHILLI > *chilē*. The same change of Indian *i* to *ē* takes place in the Spanish of Buenos Ayres.¹

When posttonic *i* is followed by *n*, the consonant falls and the final vowel becomes *ē*; for example, HUAXIN > HUAXI > *waxē*, TEPEHUAXIN > *tēpēwaxē*, etc.

§ 82. Atonic o.

Initial *o* remains: OCOTL > *ōkotē*, OCELOTL > *ōēlotē*, OTLATL > *ōtatē*.

Pretonic *o* remains: TZOPILOTL > *ōpilotē*, ACOCOTLI > *akōkotē*, CACOMITL > *kakōmitē*.

oa > *ua*: COATL > *kūatē*, CENCOATL > *ēnkuatē*.

Final *o* remains in *wakalkō* < QUAUHCALCO, which is the only example.

§ 83. Atonic u.

Initial and final *u* do not occur.

Pretonic *u* > *o*: MULCAXITL > *mōlkaxetē*, MUMUXTLI > *mōmōsklē*.

§ 84. Atonic ua, ue, ui.

The atonic diphthongs *ua*, *ue*, *ui* have the same development as when tonic; for example, AHUACATE > *awakatē*,

¹Soc. de Ling., II, p. 52.

AHUEHUETE > *awewetē*, HUILOTL > *wilōtē*; but MOTZINCUEP-QUI > *machinkwēpa*, CUITLACOCHI > *kuitlakōchē*.

§ 85. *Atonio uau.*

The triphthong *uau* is reduced to *wa* in strictly popular words; for example, QUAUHCALCO > *guakalko* > *wakalko*, QUAUHCALLI > *guakalli* > *wakal*, QUAUHCAMOTLI > *wakamōtē*. These words are often written *guacalco*, *guacal*, *guacamote*, and the change from *gua* to *wa* in the popular speech is the same as that noted for initial *gua* in words of Castilian origin.

C. CONSONANTS.

LABIALS.

§ 86. *Pronunciation.*

There is only one pure labial consonant in Nahuatl, namely, *p*. There seems, however, to have been a *v*-consonant in the pronunciation of the women, and concerning this consonant Molina remarks: "Los varones no usan de *v* consonante, aunque las mugeres mexicanas solamente la usan. Y assi dizen ellos *ueuett* . . . que es quatro silabas, y ellas dizen *vevett* con solas dos silabas."

§ 87. *p.*

p occurs as initial, medial and in consonantal combinations, and has in all cases remained with the Castilian pronunciation. Initial: PAPACHOA > *papacho*, PETLATL > *pētātē*, PETLACALLI > *pētaka*; medial: TZAPOTL > *sapōtē*, TZOPILOTL > *sōpilōtē*, CHAPOPOTLI > *chapōpōtē*; consonantal combinations: CHINAMPA > *chinampa*, TOMPIATL > *tōmpiatē*, CHILPOCTLI > *chilpōklē*, TECPAN > *tēkpan*, ICPALLI > *ēkipālē*.

DENTALS.

§ 88. *Pronunciation.*

The dental signs in Nahuatl are *t*, *c* (+ *e*, *i*), *z*, *tz*, *x* (*d* and *s* do not occur).

t has the value of Castilian *t*.¹

c (+ *e*, *i*), *z*: Mendoza thus describes these sounds: "La *c* suave que se pronuncia casi igual á la *s*, un poco mas silbada, pegando la lengua en el nacimiento de los dientes, lo que ha hecho formar la opinion antes dicha, de que no debe desterrarse la *s* del mexicano. . . . La *z* que poco se parece á la castellana, pues tiene un sonido muy semejente á la *s*, que es el que generalmente se da en Mexico á la *c* suave y á la *z*."² Now, knowing that "*c* suave" and *z* did not differ in sound from *s* in the Spanish of America, and adding to this Mendoza's statement that the "*c* suave" of the Nahuatl is "un poco mas silbada," we may safely say that Nahuatl *c* (and *z*) represents an *s* slightly more aspirated than the Castilian *s*.

tz: This sound is treated as a single consonant, and Molina says it is equivalent to Hebrew *tzade*; ³ Tapia Zenteno makes the same statement, and adds the following description of the sound: "En todo se pronuncia cerrando los dientes y difundiéndolo por ellas la lengua formando un ligero silbo sin violencia."⁴ Mendoza states "que se pronuncia encorvando la lengua y pegándola en medio del paladar."⁵ Combining these two descriptions we may conclude that in giving the *tz* sound, the tongue is curved upwards toward the hard palate, and it is the point of the tongue that presses against the back of the teeth (instead of the tip as in Spanish *s*).

x: The sound of this letter in the Castilian of the sixteenth century (until 1582) was *š*, consequently, the symbol *x* was used by the early grammarians in order to transcribe the *š*-sound which was found in Nahuatl. Since the *š*-sound was

¹*Nomb. Geog.*, p. 33.

²*Palab. Mex.*, p. 9.

³*Mus. Nac.*, iv, p. 128.

⁴*Mus. Nac.*, iii; Appen., p. 7.

⁵*Palab. Mex.*, p. 9.

common to both Castilian and Nahuatl, none of the early grammarians call especial attention to it, consequently, the first mention of it must be sought in the period when Castilian *x* had passed from *š* to *χ*, that is, when the symbol *x* ceased to represent the Nahuatl sound. Tapia Zentena (who wrote in 1752) makes the following remark concerning the *x* in Nahuatl: "La *x* ó sigasele vocal ó consonante, siempre se hallare escrita en diccion mexicana, se pronuncia distintamente diversa del Castellano y el Latin: hallase en primeras medial y ultimas sílabas. . . . Sabrase pronunciar bien teniendo algo apartados los dientes sin llegar á ellos la lengua y asentándola toda en lo inferior de la boca, bien abiertos los labios."¹

§ 89. *Initiales.*

Initial *t* remains: TAMALLI > *tamal*, TECOLOTL > *tēkolōtē*, TEZONTLI > *tēsōŋklē*.

Initial *t* > *p* in *pilīŋklē* (< *tilīŋque*), probably due to a confusion of the prefixes *til-* and *pil-*.

Initial *c* (+ *e*, *i*) and *z* remain as *s*: CENCOATL > *sēŋkuatē*, CENZONTLI > *sēsōŋklē*, ZACATL > *sakatē*.

Initial *tz* occurs only before the vowels *i*, *a*, *o*. *tzi* > *chi*: TZITZICAZTLI > *chichikasklē*, TZILCA YUTL > *chilkayutē*, TZIPIL > *chipil*. *tza*, *tzo* > *sa*, *so*: TZAPOTL > *sapōtē*, TZOACATL > *sōkatē*, TZOPILOTL > *sōpilōtē*, TZOMPANTLI > *sōmpaŋklē*. The reason for the two developments is evident. Before *i*, the front of the tongue is raised in anticipation of the high vowel position, hence *tzi* > *chi*; before *a*, *o*, however, the front of the tongue is low, hence the *tz* is reduced to simple *s*.

There are, however, two exceptions found in Sanchez' *Vocabulario*; namely, TZOTZOCOLLI > *chōchōcōl*, TZAHUITLI > *chauklē*. Mendoza's etymon CHIAUHOTLI² would explain the form *chaukle*, but no satisfactory explanation can be given for *chochocol*.

¹*Mus. Nac.*, III, Appen., p. 7.

²*Palab. Mex.*, p. 23.

Initial *x*, which had the value of *š* in the sixteenth century, has undergone the same change as original Castilian *x*, that is, it has become *χ*: XACALLI > *χakal*, XILOTL > *χilōtē*, XITOMATL > *χitōmatē*.

§ 90. *Medials.*

Medial *t* remains: TOTOPOCHTLI > *tōtōpō*, which is the only example.¹

Medial *c* (+ *e*, *i*) and *z* remain as *s*: AHUIZOTE > *awisōtē* EPAZOTL > *ēpasōtē*, OCELOTL > *ōsēlōtē*.

Medial *tz* has the same treatment as when initial. TZI > *chi*: TLAQUATZIN > *klak̄yachē*, TZITZICAZTLI > *chichikasklē*, ATZITZICUILOTL > *chichikyilōtē*; TZO² > *so*: QUAHTZONTLI > *wasōṇklē*, TETZONTLI > *tesōṇklē*. Exception: TZOTZOCOL > *chōchōcōl*.

Mendoza states that the *tz* of Indian words "ha desaparecido casi por completo para dar lugar á la *z* escrita, no pronunciada sino como *s*; algunas veces en los diminutivos se cambia en *c* suave como en *Mexicaltzingo* que se escribe y pronuncia *Mexicalcingo*."³ This statement of Mendoza's fails to include the development of *tzi* to *chi*. The change of *tz* to *c* (= *s*) in *Mexicaltzingo* is the regular development in consonantal combinations; cf. §. 91.

Medial *x* has the same history as initial *x*, that is, it passes from original *š* to *χ*: TAXITL > *taxitē*, EXOTL > *ēxōtē*, TEPEHUAXIN > *tēpēwaxē*.

§ 91. *Dentals in consonantal combinations.*⁴

With the exception of *tl* and *tz*, which are treated as single consonants, *t* does not occur in consonantal combinations.

z remains as *s* in the groups *zc*, *ztl*, *nz*: TEMOZCALLI > *temaskal*, MIZQUITL > *mēskitē*, PIZTLI > *pisklē*, TLACOMIZTLI > *kakōmisklē*, CENZONTLI > *sēnsōṇklē*.

¹ Sanchez, *Voc. Mex.*, s. v.

² *Palab. Mex.*, p. 11.

³ *tz* does not occur in medial position.

⁴ Dentals do not occur in final position.

tz occurs in the groups *tzo* and *tz*, and remains as *s*: API-PITZCA > *apipiska*, ITZCUINTLI > *ɛskɥiŋkle*, MEXICALTZINGO > *mɛɾikalsiŋgo*.

x occurs only in the group *xk*, and remains as *s*: TLAX-CALOTL > *kaskalotɛ*, MEXCALLI > *mɛskal*.

PALATAIS.

§ 92. Pronunciation.

c,¹ *qu*, *ch*,² and *y*³ occur in Nahuatl, and have the sound of the corresponding Castilian letters.

§ 93. Initials.

Initial *o* (+ *a*, *o*, *u*) and *qu* (+ *e*, *i*) remain as *k*: CACOMITL > *kakomitɛ*, CAXITL > *caɣitɛ*, QUIMILLI > *kimil*, QUIOTL > *kiotɛ*.

Labialized form: *cui* > *kɥi*;⁴ for example, CUICO > *kɥiko*, CUITLACOCHE > *kɥitlakotɛ*. *qua*⁵ > *gua* > *wa*; for example, QUAUHCALLI > *ɣuakal* > *wakal*, QUAUHCAMOTLI > *ɣuakamote* > *wakamotɛ*. The later change of *gua* to *wa* is the same as that which took place in original Castilian words. In the Nicaragua Spanish of the sixteenth century, *ɣuaɣakeŋo* (< QUAHUAQUI) shows the first stage of the development mentioned above.

qua > *ka* in MACUAHUITL > *makana*, AMAQUAHUITL > *anakawitɛ*. Each of these words has other peculiarities which make their etymology doubtful.

Initial *ch* remains: CHICHI > *chichɛ*, CHILLI > *chilɛ*, CHAPOLTEPEC > *Chapultɛpɛ*.

Initial *y* remains in YOLOZCHITL > *ɣolotɔɕhil*, which is the only example.

¹Nomb. Geog., p. 26.

²Mus. Nac., III, Appen., p. 8.

³Nomb. Geog., p. 35.

⁴*cue* does not occur in initial position.

⁵*quo* does not occur in initial position.

§ 94. *Medials.*

Medial *c* (+ *a*, *o*, *u*) and *qu* (+ *e*, *i*) remain as *k*: ACOCOTL > *akokotē*, CUTTLACOCHE > *kʷitlakochē*, CHIQUIHUTTL > *chiki-witē*.

Medial *ch* remains: PAPACHOA > *papacho*, CUTTLACOCHE > *kʷitlakochē*.

Medial *y* remains: AYATL > *ayatlē*, COYOTL > *coyotē*.

§ 95. *Finals.*

The use of palatals in final position is foreign to Castilian and Mexican Spanish. In Nahuatl, *c* and *ch* may occur as final consonants, but on their passage into Spanish the consonant falls or a final *e* is added.

Final *c* generally falls; for example, CHAPOLTEPEC > *Chapultepē*, HUAUHTEMOC > *Watemē*, etc. Compare NEW YORK > *Nueḃa Ygr*. A final *e* is added in *zoooc* > *χokokē*; compare English CHECK > *chēkē*.

Cuernavaca (< CUAHNAHUAC) is a case of popular etymology. The form should have been *kuanawa* or *kuanawakē*, but owing to the similarity in sound to the Spanish words *cuerna* + *vaca*, the meaning of the Mexican noun was changed from 'a place surrounded by woods' to 'cow-horn.'

Final *ch* occurs in only one Nahuatl word that has come into Spanish, and here a glide *e* has developed after the *ch*: MAPACH > *mapachē*. Mendoza mentions the fact that a glide *i* was often developed, even in Nahuatl, in the case of words ending in *ch*.¹

§ 96. *Palatals in consonantal combinations.*

c occurs in the groups *xc*, *zc*, *pc*, *cp*, and remains as *k*. *xc* > *sk*: ZACATLAXCALLI > *sakaklaskalē*, MEXCALLI > *mēskal*; *zc* > *k* in NEXCOMITL > *nēskomitē*; *zc* > *sk*: MIZQUITL > *mēs-*

¹ *Palab. Mex.*, p. 9.

kile, TEMAZCALLI > *tɛmaskal*. *pqui* > *pa* in MOTZINCUEPQUI > *machinkɛpa*, probably due to a substitution of *cuepa* for *cuepqui*. *op* > *kp*: TECPAN > *tɛkpan*.

ch occurs only in the complex *chl*, which is reduced to *skl*: MICTLAPIQUI > *mɛsklapikɛs*, QUAPACHTLI > *kɥapasklɛ*. *Piocha* < PIOCHTLI may be due to a confusion with Castilian *piocha*.

Tɥrnachilɛ < TONALCHILLI shows a change of *l* to *r* accompanied by metathesis.

LIQUIDS.

§ 97. Pronunciation.

The liquids in Nahuatl are *l*, *ɭ* and *tl*, and of these *l* alone has the same sound as in Castilian.¹

ɭ does not represent the Spanish *ll*, but according to Mendoza "sola indica un prolongacion en el sonido."² Molina states that "*ɭ* se ha de pronunciar como en el latin dezimos villa."³

tl is regarded as a single sound in Nahuatl and may occur in initial medial or final position. It is equivalent in value to the *tl* in *Atlantico*, if we consider the *t* and *l* as belonging to the same syllable; thus, *Atl-antico*.⁴

§ 98. Initials.

l and *ɭ* do not occur at the beginning of a word.

Initial *tl* > *kl*: TLACO > *klako*, TLEMULLI > *kɛmɔɭɛ*, TLATOLLI > *klakoɭɛ*. Tapia Zenteno speaks of the tendency to mispronounce *tl*: "Este letra se expresará abiertos los labios, procurando no equivocarla con la *c*, como los que ignoran este dialecto dicen *claclacolli*, *clamanchi*, etc. en lugar de *tlatlacolli*,

¹ *Nomb. Geog.*, p. 31.

² *Palab. Mex.*, p. 9.

³ *Mus. Nac.*, IV, p. 128.

⁴ *Nomb. Geog.*, p. 33.

tlamanilli.”¹ The change of *tl* to *kl* is the same as that which took place in Popular Latin *vechus* < *vetlus* < *vetulus*.

Initial *tl* > *t* in the following words mentioned by Sanchez: TLAXAMANILLI > *taxamanil*, TLAPANCO > *tapankō*, TLAPECHTLI > *tapēsklē*.²

§ 99. Medials.

Medial *l* remains: OLOTL > *olōtē*, OCELOTL > *oşēlotē*, TEXOLOTI > *tēxolōtē*, PAPALOTL > *papalōtē*.

In *χikara* < XICALLI the etymology is doubtful, for besides the change of *l* to *r* and the addition of a final *a*, we must also account for the change of accent.

Medial *ll* occurs only in the terminations *-lli* and *-llin* and is regularly reduced to *l*. In some cases the endings *i* and *in* disappear, in others they remain as *e*.

-alli > *-al*: ACAHUALLI > *akawal*, COMALLI > *komal*, COPALLI > *kopal*, CHIMALLI > *chimal*, etc. *-alli* > *-ule* in the following words: TEZCALLI > *tēkalē*, ZACATLAXCALLI > *kalaskalē*, ICPALLI > *ēkipalē*. The fall of the final vowel in the large majority of *alli*-words is probably due to the fact that the termination *-al* is of much more frequent occurrence, in Castilian words, than the ending *-ale*. The same remark applies in general to *-illi*, *olli* and *ulli*.

-illi > *-il*: HUEPILLI > *wēpil*, METLAPILLI > *mēklapil*, QUITMILLI > *kimil*, TLAXAMANILLI > *taxamanil*, etc. *-illi* > *-ile* in *chilli* > *chilē*, TONALCHILLI > *tōrnachilē*.

-olli > *-ol*: XOCOYOLLI > *şōkoyōl*, TZOTZOCOLLI > *chōchōkōl*. *-olli* > *-ole*: ATOLLI > *atōlē*, TLATOLLI > *klatōlē*, PINOLLI > *pinōlē*.

-ulli > *-olē*: AMULLI > *amōlē*, CHIMULLI > *chimōlē*, MULLI > *mōlē*. *ulli* > *ule*: ULLI > *ule*.

Medial *tl* occurs in a few words ending in *-tl*. In these words the first *tl* > *t* by assimilation to the *te* which regularly develops from final *tl*; for example, METLATL > *mētātē*, PETLATL > *pētātē*, TEPETLATL > *tēpētātē*.

¹ *Mus. Nac.*, III, appen., p. 34.

² *Voc. Mex.*, s. v.

In *petaka* (< PETLACALLI) the *t* is by analogy to *t* in *petate*, since PETLACALLI is a compound PETLATL + CALLI. The words *petaca* and *petate* are found in Nicaragua Spanish in the first half of the sixteenth century.¹

§ 100. *Finals.*

Final *r* does not occur in Nahuatl, but is added to the following verbs by analogy to Castilian infinitives which always end in *r*: CHICHINOA > *chichinar*, PEPENA > *pepenar*.

Final *l* remains: TZIPIL > *chipil*, QUACHICHIL > *wachichil*. In *tēnkua* (< TENCUAPIL) the entire final syllable has fallen. The three examples just cited are the only words with final *l* that have come into Spanish from the Nahuatl.

Final *ll* does not occur.

Final *tl* > *ts*: XILOTL > *xilotē*, MECATL > *mekate*, OCOTL > *okotē*, COYOTL > *coyotē*. The change of *tl* to *ts* is due to a wearing-away of the final consonant to a voiceless glide; the *l* first becomes voiceless, after which it easily passes to the front vowel *e* by influence of the *t*.

Final *tl* > *l* in the following words: OYAMETL > *oyamel*, CEMPOALXUCHITL > *sēmpasuchil*, YOLOXOCHITL > *yoloşochil*. A possible explanation of the two last mentioned words is that they are by analogy to the large number of forms in *-il* < *-illi*.

§ 101. *Liquids in consonantal combinations.*

l generally remains in consonantal combinations. *lp*: CHILPOCTLI > *chilpocklē*; *lt*: PILTONTLI > *piltōnklē*; *kl*: QUAUHCALCO > *wakalko*, XALTOMATL > *xaltōmatē*. *l* > *r* in TONALCHILLI > *tōrnachile*, where the change is due to a confusion with Spanish *torna*. *l* is assimilated to *m* in CHILMOLLI > *chimmole* > *chimōlē*. Entire syllable falls in TLAICACAHUATL > *kakawate*.

¹*Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, v, p. 63.

tl occurs only in combination with a preceding consonant, and becomes *kl* in all cases. *ntl* > *ηkl*.¹ CENZONTLI > *sen-sɔŋklɛ*, ITZCUINTLI > *ɛskɥɪŋklɛ*, TESONTLI > *tɛsɔŋklɛ*; *ztl* > *skl*: TEPONAZTLI > *tɛpɔnasklɛ*, PIZTLI > *pisklɛ*; *otl* > *kl*: CACTLI > *kaklɛ*, CHIPOCTLI > *chipɔklɛ*; *chtl* > *skl*: ICHTLI > *isklɛ*, MICTLAPIQUI > *mɛsklapikɛs*.

ASPIRATE.

§ 102. Pronunciation.

Peñafiel states that Nahuatl *h* "en medio y en fin de diccion es aspirada. No se encuentra al principio de diccion en los escritores de los siglos XVI y XVII, supliéndola en los dipthongos de la *u* con *v*. Por regla general, al principio de diccion sólo hiere á la *u* y apénas si hay tres ó cuatro palabras con que precede á otra vocal." In the Nahuatl words that have come into Spanish, *h* occurs only before *ua*, *ue*, *ui*, or as final letter of a syllable.

§ 103. Initial.

Initial *h* falls and the following *u* becomes *w*: HUAXIN > *waxɛ*, HUIPILLI > *wɛpil*, HUAXOLOTL > *waxɔlotɛ*.

§ 104. Medial.

Medial *h* falls and the following *u* becomes *w*: AHUACATL > *awakatɛ*, CHIQUIHUITL > *chikiwitɛ*.²

§ 105. *h* + cons.

h falls before a consonant: QUAUHCALLI > *wakal*, QUAUH-CALCO > *wakalkɔ*.

¹ Cf. § 110.

² *h* does not occur in final position.

§ 106. *gua, güe.*

Initial and medial *hua* is often written and pronounced *gua* among the educated classes, such a form of writing and speaking being due to a mistaken etymology. The sound *wa* is foreign to Castilian, and, therefore, since the lower classes say *wa* for Castilian *gua* (cf. AGUA > *awa*), the educated suppose that the correct form for every folk-*wa* is *gua*; hence, for *awakatē* (*ahuacate*) they write *aguacate*, for *waxē* (*huaxe*), *guaje*, etc.

In Nicaragua the aboriginal *hue* has become *güe* in the Spanish folk-speech; this, however, is a different phenomenon from the *wa* > *gua* in Mexico. The Nahuatl *hue* > *we* by the fall of the aspirate, this *we* then becomes *güe* just as BUENO > *weno* > *güeno*, hence in Nicaragua HUEHUE > *güegüe*, etc.¹

 NASALS.
§ 107. *Initials.*

Initial *m*, *n* remain with the Castilian pronunciation: MECATL > *mēkatē*, MULLI > *mōlē*; NAHUALLI > *nawal*, NOPALLI > *nopal*.

§ 108. *Medials.*

Medial *m*, *n* remain with the Castilian pronunciation: CACOMITL > *kakōmītē*, COMALLI > *kōmal*; PINOLLI > *pinōl*, CHINAMPA > *chinampa*.

§ 109. *Finals.*

Final *m* does not occur.

Final *n* regularly falls: TOLLIN > *tulē*, CHIAN > *chia*, HUAXIN > *waxē*, etc. A similar fall of aboriginal final *n* takes place in Nicaragua.²

¹*Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, v, pp. 60, 62.²*Ibid.*, p. 62.

Final *n* remains in the following words: CAPOLLIN > *kapolin*, CHAPULIN > *chapolin*, CHILTECPIN > *chilpikin*, QUATEZON > *kyatesqn*. In Nahuatl words the final syllable never bears a tonic accent (except in certain vocative forms in *z*, none of which have been preserved in Spanish), hence, in the class of words which have preserved the final *n*, we must suppose a change of accent to the last syllable on their passage into Spanish, which change of accent would naturally tend to preserve the final *n*.

§ 110. *Nasals in consonantal combinations.*

m occurs in the groups *lm*, *mp*, and remains unchanged: PILMAMA > *pilmama*, TILMATLI > *tilma*; CHINAMPA > *chinampa*, TOMPIATL > *tompiaql*, etc.

n occurs only in the groups *nz*, *nc* and *nll*. *tl* regularly becomes *kl* in consonantal combinations, hence in the last two cases just mentioned, *n* is followed by a guttural and is naturally changed to *ŋ*. *nc* > *ŋk*: CENCOATL > *sɛŋkuaql*, TLA-PANCO > *klapanŋkɔ*, TZINCUALLI > *chiŋkual*. *nll* > *nkl* > *ŋkl*: CENZONTLI > *sɛnsɔŋklɛ*, ITZCUINTLI > *ɛskɥiŋklɛ*, TEZONTLI > *tɛsɔŋklɛ*.

nz > *ns*: CENZONTLI > *sɛnsɔŋklɛ*.

CHARLES CARROLL MARDEN.

LIFE.

I was born in Baltimore, December 21, 1867. My early education was received in this city, and after an attendance of three years at the Baltimore City College, I entered the Johns Hopkins University in 1886, and received the degree of A. B. in 1889. During the year 1889-90 I was Instructor in French and German in the Norfolk Academy; 1890-91, Instructor in French in the University of Michigan; in October, 1891, entered the Romance Department of the Johns Hopkins University as a graduate student, and was Assistant in French and Spanish until January, 1893; during the following academic year I held a University Scholarship. The summer of 1890 was spent in Paris for the purpose of gaining a practical knowledge of French, that of 1892 was passed in Mexico City collecting material for the present thesis. My studies have been in French as the principal subject with Spanish and History as first and second subordinates. In pursuing the courses indicated, I have been under the instruction of Professors A. M. Elliott, H. B. Adams, Paul Haupt, Maurice Bloomfield, Doctors J. E. Matzke, L. E. Menger and Christopher Johnston, to all of whom I desire to express my thanks. To Prof. Elliott in particular I shall always feel deeply indebted, not only for his instruction and guidance, but also for the friendly interest he has ever manifested in my work.

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